The Sibylline Oracles Books III–V

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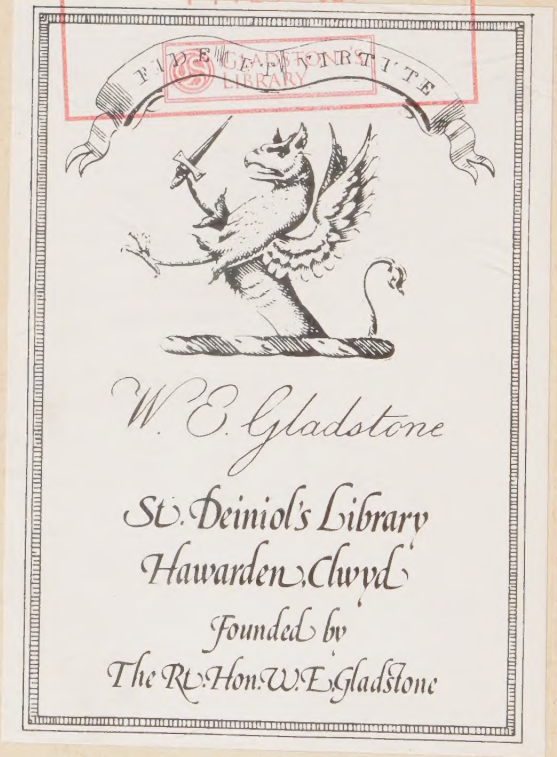

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SERIES II

HELLENISTIC-JEWISH TEXTS

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

BOOKS III–V

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THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

BOOKS III–V

BY THE
REV. H. N. BATE, M.A.

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EDITORS' PREFACE

THE object of this series of translations is primarily to furnish students with short, cheap, and handy text-books, which, it is hoped, will facilitate the study of the particular texts in class under competent teachers. But it is also hoped that the volumes will be acceptable to the general reader who may be interested in the subjects with which they deal. It has been thought advisable, as a general rule, to restrict the notes and comments to a small compass; more especially as, in most cases, excellent works of a more elaborate character are available. Indeed, it is much to be desired that these translations may have the effect of inducing readers to study the larger works.

Our principal aim, in a word, is to make some difficult texts, important for the study of Christian origins, more generally accessible in faithful and scholarly translations.

In most cases these texts are not available in a cheap and handy form. In one or two cases texts have been included of books which are available in the official Apocrypha; but in every such case reasons exist for putting forth these texts in a new translation, with an Introduction, in this series.

W. O. E. OSTERLEY.
G. H. BOX.

INTRODUCTION

I. THE SIBYLLINE TRADITION IN GREECE AND ROME.

In the Hellenic world, as in that of the Hebrews, the guidance and inspiration of prophecy was always sought and held in veneration. In the great days of Hellas the oracles played a part in the moulding of public policy no less than in the solution of private problems, and long after those days had passed away the popular religion drew a constant stream of enquirers to the places where the counsel of God was thought to be revealed. Oracles such as that of Claros enjoyed an enormous vogue as late as the second century A.D.—never, indeed, had their popularity been greater: and it waned only with the decay of the cults which nurtured it.

In the main, it is clear the Greeks believed firmly that the inspiration of their oracles and seers was genuine. It is true that Aristophanes laughed at them and parodied their utterances, and that Lucian in his day found abundant material for satire in the charlatans who made large profit out of the superstitions of a nerve-ridden age, while Aristotle[1] treated inspiration as a form of melancholy; yet the mind of Hellas was more truly represented by Plato[2] and Plutarch,[3] both of whom spoke

[1] Ar. *Probl.* 30. 1.

[2] Plat. *Phaedr.* 244 b. The Sibyl and others, like the oracles of Delphi and Dodona, *μαντικῇ χρώμενοι ἐνθέῳ πολλὰ δὴ πολλοις προλέγοντες εἰς τὸ μέλλον ὤρθωσαν.*

[3] Plut. *de Pyth. Or.* 398 c, an interesting discussion, where a

of the oracles and the Sibyl with genuine religious respect.

The oracles, strictly so called, were always consulted through the official medium of the priests who had charge of them; but there were also less official sources of revelation; voices to be heard in caverns where subterranean springs gave forth mysterious sounds, or from the rush of the wind through trees; in such places the earliest "Sibyls" had their home, and could be consulted by any who chose to approach them: or rather, through them the people could seek counsel of Apollo, to whom their inspiration was always ascribed.

The Sibylline tradition, then, took its origin from a side-stream of oracular inspiration. According to Rohde (*Psyche*, vol. ii. pp. 62 f.) one must also infer that between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C., when the enthusiastic cult of Dionysus was taking settled form, there were wandering prophets in Hellas, unattached to any local habitation; men and women subject to ecstatic possession, gifted with second sight, who played a part analogous to that of the prophets of early Christian history. The Cassandra of the *Agamemnon* is just such a figure. She corresponds closely to the earliest description of a Sibyl, found in a fragment of Heraclitus;[1] her utterance is wild, harsh and uncouth: her message is full of unwelcome truths and forebodings of disaster; it is like that of Micaiah the son of Imlah, or that of the seer in the *Iliad*[2] to whom it was said *αἰεί τοι τὰ*

sceptical interlocutor urges that if one foretells all possible disasters some of the predictions are sure of fulfilment, but against this it is maintained that the Sibyl is too accurate in respect of place and time to be disposed of in this way.

[1] In Plutarch, *de Pyth. Or.* 561. Σίβυλλα δὲ μαινομένῳ στόματι, καθ' Ἡράκλειτον, ἀγέλαστα καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστα καὶ ἀμύριστα φθεγγομένη χιλίων ἐτῶν ἐξικνεῖται τῇ φωνῇ διὰ τὸν θεόν.

[2] Homer, *Iliad*, i. 106.

κακ' ἐστι φιλὰ φρεσὶ μαντεύεσθαι. It is with such soothsayers, Σίβυλλαι [1] καὶ Βάκιδες, and with casual utterances gradually collected and handed down in ever-increasing number, that the Sibylline tradition begins.

The first of the Sibyls, according to the general belief, was one Herophile, described now as the daughter, sister or wife of Apollo, now as the child of a fisherman and a nymph; she came from the Troad to Delphi before the Trojan war, "in wrath with her brother Apollo," lingered for a time at Samos, visited Claros and Delos, and died in the Troad, after surviving nine generations of men. After her death she became a wandering voice which still brought to the ears of men tidings of the future wrapped in dark enigmas.[2]

Two places claimed to be the birthplace of Herophile, namely Marpessos in the Troad and Erythræ. The Erythræans based their claim on an alleged utterance of the Sibyl—πατρὶς δέ μοί ἐστιν Ἐρυθρή—while the

[1] The traditional derivation of the word Σίβυλλα is given by Varro (ap. Lact. *Inst.* i. 6, 7) who refers it to the Æolic σιός (θειός) and βύλλα (βουλή): "itaque Sibyllam dictam esse quasi θεοβούλην." Modern philologists regard this as improbable. Gruppe (*Griech. Mythologie*, p. 927) thinks the word Phœnician or Arabic in origin, and equivalent to "possessed by God." Nestle, (*Berl. Philol. Wochenschr.* 1904, pp. 764–6) advances with hesitation a conjecture based upon a theory of Schürer's (Die Prophetin Isabel in Thyatira, in *Theol. Abhandlungen Weizsäcker gewidmet*, pp. 39 ff). In Thyatira there was a Σαμβάθειον, a shrine of Sambethe the Chaldean Sibyl (*C.I.G.* 3509): Schürer suggests that the Jezebel or Isabel of Rev. ii. 20 was the local prophetess of this shrine, and Nestle proceeds to guess that Isabel and Sibyl are originally one and the same word. More scientific and less hazardous is the view of Dr. Postgate (*American Journal of Philology*, iii. 353 f.), who traces Σίβυλλα to a root σιβ—(ἰβ), akin to σιβ-ός, sapiens, and seen in such proper names as Σιβύρτας, etc., and the diminutive termination—υλλα: it will thus mean "the wise little woman"; cf. our wizard, from witan, and the Latin saga, præsagus, præsagium.

[2] In Plut. *de Pyth. Or. loc. cit.* The tradition is mentioned that the Sibyl went to the moon and is still visible there, as a human face.

Marpessians asserted that their rivals had suppressed a line of the true text, which ought to read thus :—

πατρὶς δέ μοί ἐστιν ἐρυθρή
Μάρπησσος, μητρὸς ἱερὴ, ποταμὸς δ' Ἀϊδωνεύς.

Marpessos proved to be too insignificant to uphold its claim, and thus the Erythræan Sibyl usurped and retained the first place in tradition as the earliest and greatest of all Sibyls. So, for instance, Lactantius says (*de Ira Dei*, 22, 4) that all ancient authorities "præcipuam ac nobilem præter ceteras Erythræam fuisse commemorant."[1]

It is probable that Sibylline vaticination was practised in many localities; by the time of Varro[2] ten Sibyls had been enumerated, and other authorities (see Alexandre, App. to *Exc.* I) give other lists and numbers: but the literary tradition of the Sibyl begins with only one. Heraclitus, Aristophanes, Plato and Plutarch refer to the Sibyl in the singular,[3] and Tacitus (*Ann.* vi. 12) doubts whether the singular or the plural is the proper number to employ.

It is clear from Aristophanes that some sort of Sibylline literature was current in Greece in the fifth century

[1] Erythræ continued to glory in its borrowed distinction down to a late period. Buresch has published (*Mittheilungen des k.d. Archäol. Instituts*, Athenische Abtheilung XVII.) a dedicatory inscription of the time of M. Aurelius, in which the Sibyl says πατρὶς δ' οὐκ ἄλλη, μουνὴ δέ μοί ἐστιν Ἐρυθραί, and rejoices that after 900 years of wandering life she is back again in her home, to see the fulfilment of her prophecy that Erythræ would once more flourish.

[2] Varro ap. Lact. *Inst.* i. 6, 7–12. Varro's ten Sibyls are—the Persian, Libyan, Delphic, Cimmerian, Erythræan, Samian, Cumæan, Hellespontian, Phrygian and Tiburtine.

[3] So does Pausanias as a rule, though in X. xii. he enumerates four Sibyls, one without a name (? the Libyan), Herophile, the Cumæan, and the Jewish. But he may be dependent on some other source at this point: see Frazer's note *ad loc.*

B.C.[1] But the Roman portion of the Sibylline story takes the literature back to a considerably earlier date. It was at the end of the sixth century B.C. that one of the Tarquins, probably Tarquinius Superbus, "canonized" such Sibylline oracles as he was wise enough to purchase, and had them laid up in the Capitol. Nine books, it is said,[2] were offered to him by an old woman from Cumæ, at the price of 300 gold pieces; at the end of the bargaining the vendor had burnt six out of the nine, and was able to secure the original price in full for the remaining three. Now these books were brought indeed from Cumæ, where there was (in later times, at any rate) a Sibylline cave and oracle; but they were not of Cumæan origin: Cumæ, tradition says, produced no written oracles. The "Cumæum carmen" was in fact simply the "Erythræan" collection, *i. e.* all that was believed in the sixth century to be the work of the chief and original Sibyl.

The installation of the Sibyllines on the Capitol was an event of first-rate importance in the religious history of Rome. It was the work of the first Roman ruler who solemnly consulted the Delphic oracle, and it proved to be, if not the beginning and sole cause, at least an early and potent factor in the Hellenizing of Roman religion.[3] New deities, new forms of old deities, new cults, new methods of propitiation, new festivals and observances were introduced on the authority of the sacred canon thus imported. A college of officials, Duumvirs at first, Quindecimvirs later, was appointed to have charge of the documents, and two assistants at least were always

He refers to it with mingled sarcasm and respect. σιβυλλιᾶν, like βακίζειν, means "to talk oracular nonsense."

[2] Dion. Hal. iv. 62.

[3] Marquardt and Mommsen, Staatsaltertümer, vi. 336 ff.

provided who had a knowledge of Greek.[1] The oracles, it would seem, were constantly studied, but were never "consulted" or "approached" except by express order of the State. Their use appears to have been twofold: they were consulted in times of danger, for predictions and warnings,[2] and on the occurrence of unprecedented portents or disasters, for the discovery of appropriate rituals of propitiation.

The existing Sibylline books, having passed through the hands of Jewish and Christian editors, naturally retain no traces of such ritual injunctions as it was the business of the Quindecimvirs to discover.[3] Indeed it appears that even in the Roman books the expected answers were by no means found lying on the surface. The method of consultation was elaborate and artificial. One account of it avers that a line was chosen at random, and an acrostic was made, with the letters composing this line as the "lights": verses beginning with the appropriate letters were then discovered in the oracles and perhaps composed for the occasion. If this account is even approximately correct,[4] it is clear that

[1] The Sibyllines were not the only books under their charge. Together with them the *libri fatales* of Veii, the utterances of Begoe the Etruscan prophetess, the "sortes" of Albunea of Tibur, and (after 213 B.C.) the *carmina Marciana* formed the collection known as the *libri fatales*.

[2] Cf. Cicero, *de Div.* i. 43, 98 et in Sibyllinis libris eædem repertæ prædictiones sunt; Livy iii. 10, 7 libri . . . aditi: pericula a conuentu alienigenarum prædicta . . . inter cetera monitum ut seditionibus abstineretur.

[3] Hence Augustine was able to say (*de Civ. Dei*, XVIII. xxiii.) that the Sibyl "nihil habet in toto carmine suo . . . quod ad deorum falsorum sive fictorum cultum pertineat, quin immo . . . etiam contra eos et contra cultores eorum loquitur."

[4] This is based on Alexandre's interpretation (Exc. III. xvi. p. 232) of Cic. *de Div.* ii. 54: on the other hand, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (iv. 62), writing about 30 B.C., says that the oracles had already suffered from interpolations and that the interpolations

the Quindecimvirs were in a fortunate position. The Sibyl was venerated, and she could be made to say what they thought desirable. However, it is probable that a certain amount of ritual prescription was actually found in the text of the books. The god or goddess connected with a particular calamity would often be named, and in such cases it would be easy to find precedents to direct the Quindecimvirs towards the appropriate ceremony: moreover, Aristophanes certainly found ritual injunctions and political warnings in his text of the Sibyl, for these are the things that he parodies: his Sibyl declares when peace should and should not be made, and when it is proper to sacrifice a white ram to Pandora.[1]

In 81 B.C. the buildings on the Capitol, with their contents, were destroyed by fire; but so great was the importance attached to the sacred deposit of the *libri fatales* that five years after the fire a commission was sent out to renew the collection. The commissioners made enquiry for Sibylline verses in Italy and abroad, especially at Erythrae,[2] and were able to bring together about 1000 lines as the genuine words of the Sibyl.

Thus from 76 B.C. onwards the Roman collection consisted of lines which had been found to be in general circulation; some of them were taken from public collections, and some copied down from popular oral tradition.[3] No doubt many of these were accepted as having

could be detected "by means of the so-called acrostics," which may mean that an acrostical oracle was likely to be spurious. Yet it may mean exactly the reverse of this; the Christian author of Book viii. inserted (217–250) an acrostic—of which the initial letters are ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΕΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ, and one does not see why he should have chosen to do this unless the acrostical form was commonly a mark of genuineness.

[1] Aristophanes, *Peace*, 1074 ff.; *Birds*, 967 ff.

[2] Dion. Hal. iv. 62; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 12.

[3] παρ' ἀνδρῶν ἰδιωτῶν, Dion. Hal. *loc. cit.*

had a place in the books destroyed by the fire; but there is reason to think that on the one hand the work of the commission stimulated both the production of new and the adaptation of old Sibylline matter, and that on the other the Quindecimvirs had to sift out a considerable mass of spurious oracles;[1] for, as will be seen, more than one collection was by this time in existence which owed its origin to propagandist literary efforts, Jewish and Pagan.

Further efforts were made both by Augustus and by Tiberius to secure the purity and the authority of the Sibylline canon. During the arrangements for the celebration of the Ludi Sæculares in 17 B.C. Augustus had the oracles re-copied;[2] and on assuming the dignity of Pontifex Maximus five years later he caused a large mass of spurious or unauthorized oracles to be burnt, retaining only those of the Sibyl: these he placed in gilded cases in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine.[3] Tiberius, disturbed by a popular prophecy of the approaching end of the empire, set on foot a similar critical enquiry, which resulted apparently in some enlargement of the official collection as well as in the destruction of some spurious or worthless matter.[4]

It is needless to follow further the story of the Roman Sibylline canon,[5] nor indeed is it directly connected with

[1] Tac. *Ann.* vi. 12, dato . . . sacerdotibus negotio quantum humana ope potuissent vera discernere.

[2] Dio Cass. liv. 17.

[3] Suet. *Aug.* 31.

[4] Dio Cass. lvii. 18, καὶ τὰ βιβλία πάντα τὰ μαντείαν τινα ἔχοντα ἐπεσκέψατο, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὡς οὐδενὸς ἄξια ἀπέκρινε, τὰ δὲ ἐνέκρινε.

[5] The books were not often consulted under the empire. As one would expect, they were not left undisturbed by Julian; Symmachus, as befitted a patrician deeply loyal to the old religion, held the office of Quindecimvir in 377 A.D.; but in the reign of Honorius, at the end of the fourth century, the books were burnt by order of Stilicho.

that of the Jewish-Christian books. But its indirect influence was considerable. The official adoption of the Sibyl by Rome herself, and the atmosphere of awe and secrecy with which her oracles were surrounded, lent to her name and words a prestige which it would be difficult to over-estimate; Rome completed and sealed with imperial authority the process of canonization which had begun in the folk-lore of Hellas. Hence came, in large measure, the temptation to utilize for purposes of propaganda a name so venerable. Since the Sibyl was a prophetess, any prophecy could safely be ascribed to her without fear of disproof; since she was so eminent and so ancient, any prophecy which could gain currency under her name was sure of eager and widespread acceptance.

It should be added also that the Roman tradition enriched the world with one poem which has had a higher and more enduring influence upon literary history than all the Sibylline verses taken together—the Fourth Eclogue of Vergil;[1] it was that prophecy of a new age and a blessed birth, inspired partly by the earlier Jewish Sibyllines (*i. e.* by part of our Book III.), partly also, it may be, by direct acquaintance with the Book of Isaiah, which won for Vergil his place in Christian thought as a herald of the Incarnation.

II. THE JEWISH-CHRISTIAN ORACLES.

A. *The Extant Books.*

THE *Oracula Sibyllina* now extant consist of twelve books, numbered I.–VIII. and XI.–XIV. This numbering

[1] See *Vergil's Messianic Eclogue*, by Conway, Warde Fowler and Mayor; also Sir W. M. Ramsay in *The Bearing of Recent Research on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament*, pp. 319-350.

tion, however, does not represent the contents or order of any actual MS., but is the result of a fusion of three types of text, and is adopted merely for convenience' sake. (1) In 1545 Sixtus Birken (Betuleius) published Books I.–VIII. 485 from a MS. (P) then at Augsburg, now at Munich. (2) In 1599 there appeared (posthumously) an edition by Johannes Koch (Opsopoeus), based on a Paris MS. (R), which contained the whole of Book VIII., but placed it at the beginning of the collection. (3) In 1817 and 1828 Angelo Mai was able to add, from one MS. at Milan and two in the Vatican (*a*) Book XIV., with VI.–VII. 1 and VIII. 218–428, and (*b*) Books XI.–XIV., with IV., VI.–VII. 1, VIII. 218–428 (numbered together as Book IX.), and VIII. 1–9 (numbered as Book XV.); the text of IV., VI., and VIII. representing a different recension from those previously published.

The present editions number the first eight books as they stood in the *editio princeps*, and XI.–XIV. as in the MSS. discovered by Mai. But (2) and (3) differ considerably in order from (1). (1) begins with a prologue, towards the end of which comes the note *βιβλίον ᾱ περὶ τοῦ ἀνάρχου θεοῦ*; our Books I. and II. follow as λόγος πρῶτος. (2) has III. as λόγος πρῶτος, I. and II. as δεύτερος, III. as τρίτος (or τέταρτος) IV. as τέταρτος (or πέμπτος); while in (3) IV.–VII. 1, VIII. 218–428 appear together as Book IX., and VIII. 1–9 as a fragment of Book XV. That is to say, the compiler of (3) aimed at completeness and achieved disorder; his Book IX. is a masterpiece of confusion. He made a collection of fifteen books—it may be that he had fifteen Sibyls in mind as their authors—and fortunately used a relatively good type of text.[1] He preserves to us four books the

[1] The textual problems of *Or. Sib.* will not be discussed here.

interest of which is largely political: XI., Christian book based on V. 1–51 and somewhat later in date than 226 A.D.;[1] XII., a Jewish writing of the time of Alexander Severus, edited by a Christian hand; XIII., a Christian book earlier than 265 A.D., and XIV., also Christian but not earlier than the fourth century.

Books I.–VIII. contain all the earlier matter, and nearly all that is of specifically religious interest. III.–V., the earliest of all, must be described later in some detail. VI. and VII. are both probably of the second century A.D., and are interesting documents tinged with heresy VIII., which contains the famous acrostic, and was used by Commodian and Lactantius, comes from the bitter time of persecution about 180 A.D. or earlier. I. and II. are Jewish, with Christian interpolations, some of them from Book VIII.; the Jewish basis being possibly as late as the third century A.D.

The patristic quotations coincide quite clearly with the internal evidence of the text as to the general questions of date. Down to Clement of Alexandria the certain quotations are limited to III., IV. and V., with one or two possible allusions to VIII., and frequent use of two fragments, which appear in Theophilus of Antioch as the "proœmium" of the Sibyl, and probably stood at one time at the beginning of III. Commodian confines himself mainly to VII., and Lactantius makes full and

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It will be enough to say that there are three types of text corresponding to the three collections described above. (3). The text of Mai's discoveries is usually indicated by the letter Ω, and is superior to Φ, the text of type (1), and to Ψ, that of type (2), where it can be compared with them. Φ tends to give better readings than Ψ, but the state of the text as a whole compels the critic to live from hand to mouth; no general principles can be applied to such a mass of error and corruption.

[1] These datings are taken without prejudice from Geffcken, *T. U.* pp. 31 ff.

copious use of the Books III.–VIII., with the prœmium of Theophilus and one or two fragments.

B. *Origin of the Jewish Collection.*

In the third and second century B.C. the Judaism of the Dispersion found itself in close and manifold contact with Hellenism. To the Alexandrian Jew the Hellenic world was both a friend and an enemy. He was attracted, influenced, enriched by its wisdom, its poetry, its history: he was challenged and repelled by its religion and (apart from the kindred influence of Stoicism) by its morals. The problem then arose how a Greek-speaking Jew could best maintain his place in two worlds so strangely diverse as those of Zion and Hellas: how he could commend his own faith and practice to the Greeks whose intellectual life he shared, and uphold their authority and prestige over against the cults and traditions of Hellas. In answer to these problems there came into being a considerable literature in which the names of Greek authors were used with a freedom which would now be considered less than honest. The works or fragments so produced had one of two motives always, and sometimes both: the propagation of the Jewish faith and the enhancing of the credit and status of Judaism. History was represented by a pseudo-Hecatæus, poetry by spurious verses attributed to Orpheus, Homer, Hesiod, Æschylus, Sophocles, Philemon, Menander. Orpheus was made to recant his polytheism and proclaim the one true God: Sophocles to foretell the end of the world by fire and the future blessedness of the righteous. All this was merely a forcible entry upon the heritage of the Hellenes; the major premiss underlying it was the genuine conviction that the creed of revelation was in fact older and truer than the wisdom and worship of the Greek. The Jewish

"forgers" doubtless felt themselves to be merely re-writing Greek literature as it ought to have been written.

The fashion of pseudonymous propaganda having once been set, it would have been astonishing if the Jews had failed to utilize and appropriate the Sibyl. In the age of the Maccabees, if a book of "Daniel" was needed to confirm the faith and hope of the saints, a book of the Sibyl was almost postulated as a necessity to vindicate that hope among the unbelieving. The motive for producing it was overwhelming. Other Greek teachers had already appeared, and found acceptance, in a Jewish garb; here was the oldest of Greek prophets, venerated throughout the Græco-Roman world: her prophecies existed in no fixed form or dimension; the tone and key of her utterances was closely akin to that of Hebrew prophecy, and especially to that of the more recent prophets, with their insistence on a catastrophic vindication of God; she spoke of the downfall of cities and empires, of blood and disaster. It was well worth while to enlist such an ally on the right side.

Further, it must be remembered that the Jews were not the first to utilize the Sibyl in this way. One may doubt whether the Erythræan Sibyl herself, with her claim to be older than Homer,[1] and to have supplied the material from which he plagiarized the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, was entirely above suspicion. And the Babylonian Sibyl, Sabbe or Sambethe, on whose work part of our Book III. is based, was certainly a creature of literary artifice.[2] Her author (who came to be known as her father) was

[1] Cf. *Or. Sib.* III. 420 ff.

[2] She came, however, to have a local habitation: outside Thyatira there was a Σαμβάθειον ἐν τῷ Χαλδαίου περιβόλῳ, *C.I.G.* 3509: see Ramsay in Hastings' *D.B.* art. Thyatira.

Berosus, a priest of Bel; he desired (exactly like any Alexandrian Jew) to show that his own people and religion were far superior in antiquity and authority to Greece and her gods. A contemporary of Euhemerus (at the end of the fourth century B.C.), he welcomed the theory which treated the gods of Olympus as deified mortals, and incorporated this, together with Babylonian traditions of the beginning of things, in the book of the "Babylonian Sibyl." It is probable also that he either wrote or borrowed a considerable mass of prophetic narrative relating to (and hostile to) Alexander the Great.

Conceive, then, an Alexandrian Jew, about 160 B.C., in whose hands is a work already accepted as Sibylline, but containing—in a pagan form, of course—the stories of the Deluge and the Tower of Babel, together with a rationalistic handling of Greek religion. What Berosus had begun, the Jew could not fail to continue. A few touches only were needed to expunge the polytheism of the Berosian stories: the rest could be incorporated *en bloc*.

This, it would seem, was actually the way in which Book III., the earliest of the Jewish Sibyllines, began to take shape. The elements composing it (as it now stands) are as follows:—(1) matter from the Babylonian Sibyl and the Alexander-story (? = the Persian Sibyl); (2) Hellenic oracles of various dates from the Erythræan collection; (3) Jewish oracles from the time of the Maccabees onwards; (4) Christian additions and alterations. All these diverse materials are strung together without any recognizable plan or sequence. Those who compiled, enlarged, and edited the collection felt, doubtless, that the spirit of the Sibylline tradition could best be maintained by avoiding all semblance of method;

the character which the Sibyl had to maintain was that of a frenzied seer, and not that of a literary artist.[1]

Books IV. and V. are less confused and confusing than Book III. They contain a certain amount of ancient and miscellaneous matter, and some late additions; but the substance of them belongs in the main to one short period, the latter part of the first century A.D., and therefore, although they exhibit no kind of sequence, they are easier to understand than the wildly heterogeneous collection which precedes them.

I have attempted to supply a conjectural indication of date for each section; but the reader should be warned that no two editors will be found to be in entire agreement as to dates or sources. References to the works named in the bibliography will enable him to correct or verify the tentative conclusions at which I have arrived.

C.—BOOKS III. IV. AND V.; ANALYSIS AND PROBABLE DATES.

(1) *Book III.*

In Book III. 1–45 is Jewish, Egyptian, and of uncertain date. A similar but more elaborate proclamation of monotheism is found in Theophilus of Antioch (II. 36)—the editors print it as fragments I.–III.—and said by him to have stood ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς προφητείας. Lactantius quotes this as "Erythræan": and with him "Sibylla Erythræa" means Book III. Blass (in Kautzsch, *Apokr. und Pseudepigr. des a. T.'s*, vol ii.) cuts

[1] This may be illustrated from the sixth-century *Prologue* to the Oracles (86 ff.), where it is said that the crudities and obscurity of the verse are due to the shorthand-writers who took down the oracles as they were uttered, but were too clumsy to keep up with the Sibyl's dictation, or too ignorant to understand it.

out 1–45 and substitutes the *proœmium* of Theophilus; I agree that this would represent the text as Lactantius found it, but think that our 1–45 represents an earlier form, for which the more sophisticated lines of the *proœmium* were substituted some time in the second century A.D.

46–62 is Jewish, and not earlier, I think, than 30 B.C.: possibly 53 ff. may be an addition as late as 79 A.D.

In 63–92 and 93–96 we have probably a Christian hand of the latter part of the first century, A.D.

97–154 is from the Babylonian Sibyl. Passages from the same source dealing with the Deluge will be found in I. 230–256.

156–210 is confused: but it contains, among other matter, a clear Jewish oracle on Rome from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, with later touches; from 211–294, however, we have a fairly continuous account of the Jews and their fortunes to the end of the exile, dating from the later Maccabean period.

The Jewish oracles on Babylon, Egypt, Gog and Magog, and Libya in 295–333 can hardly be dated, but 334–336 appears to refer to the "Julium sidus" of 44 B.C., and there are reasons for assigning a late date to 319–333.

337–349 is a patch of Hellenic oracles; 350–355, a Greek oracle from Asia Minor, belongs to the period of the Mithridatic wars.

356–362 and 363–380 are Jewish oracles against Rome, and can only be dated by conjecture. They may belong to the time of Pompey, 63 B.C., and it is just possible that in 372 there is a Christian touch.

381–387 comes from the Alexander-oracles, and the view adopted here of the difficult lines 388–400 is that this is a passage from the same source, recast to suit the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.

401–432 is Erythræan, and 433–488 is Hellenic and ancient for the most part, but 444–448 may come from the Mithridatic period, while 464–473 deals with the Social War and Sulla.

With 492–503 we revert to the Maccabæan stratum. In 504–519 the only indication of date (508 ff.) takes us to the second century B.C.; and for 520–572, oracles against Hellas, we have a choice between the Roman conquest of Greece in 146 B.C. and the miserable epoch of Sulla's campaigns, 551–553 suggesting perhaps the earlier date.

573–651 dates itself as not earlier than the time of the seventh Ptolemy, *i. e.* the middle of the second century, B.C.; and the remainder of the book has been assigned to a similar date.

But I am not without misgivings as to many parts of the last 300 lines. It is doubtful whether they stood in their present shape in the text of Lactantius. He is always careful, in quoting Book III., to refer to it as "Sibylla Erythræa"; but III. 545 and 547 ff. are cited by him without specifying the Erythræan Sibyl (*Inst.* i. 15, 15) and 652–3 are definitely assigned to "alia Sibylla," *i. e.* to some other book than the third (*Inst.* vii. 18, 7). Combining this fact with the close resemblances which are found between the eschatology of this section and that of Book V., I am inclined to think that in any case this part of the book was remodelled in the middle of the first century A.D. A Christian hand appears in 776.

The book closes, 809–end, with a brief but involved epilogue, in which the Sibyl identifies herself with the Babylonian and the alleged Erythræan, and claims to be the daughter-in-law of Noah.

(2) *Book IV.*

It is a relief, after the intricate disorder of Book III., to turn to the comparative unity and simplicity of Book IV., which dates as a whole from a time not long after the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 A.D. That disaster is clearly described (130–136), as is also the earthquake at Laodicea in 76 A.D. (107–8), while the legend of Nero's disappearance and expected return has already taken shape (76–79, 117–124, 137–139). An atmosphere of distress and gloom pervades the book, with expectations of judgement. It is pessimistic even with regard to the "godly": yet it looks forward to a better age on this earth when the doom has been wrought out. Zahn believes the writer to have been an Asiatic Jew domiciled in Italy; but there is about as much reason (72–75) for placing him in Egypt.

The book opens with a prologue (1–23), and a proclamation of the righteousness of Judaism and the coming doom of its enemies (24–48). 49–114 gives a broken sketch of world-history from Assyria to Hellas, Macedonia and Rome, interrupted by a reference to Nero (76–79), and containing some miscellaneous Hellenic oracles ranging in date from an ancient oracle already found in Strabo (97–8) to 76 A.D. (107–8). 115–139 deals with Rome and the Jews, the eruption of Vesuvius, and Nero's expected return. 140–151 are Hellenic oracles, of which 149–151 may be as late as 76 A.D.

From 152 to the end of the book we have a prophecy of moral collapse, judgement, destruction, resurrection and restoration.

(3) *Book V.*

The whole spirit and tone of Book V. stands in strong contrast with that of IV. IV. is serious, melancholy and

quiet: V. is passionate and visionary, alike in its hatred of Rome, in its pictures of vengeance and restoration, and in its treatment of the mythical figure of the returning Nero. V. even abandons the tense and form of prophecy, so vivid are its visions, and speaks both of the ruin of Jerusalem and of the coming of the Restorer as already accomplished (398, 408, 414).

The dating and analysis of the book have given rise to considerable divergences of opinion. We may here be content to take Zahn[1] and Geffcken as representing the chief divergence, the former holding that three different hands are traceable throughout the book,[2] the latter, whose main conclusions I have adopted, regarding it (with the exception of 1–51) as a unity. The evidence of language, metre and mood appears to me to lend adequate support to Geffcken's view.

In 1–51, then, we have a sketch of the emperors down to M. Aurelius, from a Jewish hand. It is strangely favourable to Hadrian, but I see no reason for regarding 51 as an interpolation, and am therefore unable to accept Zahn's view that 1–49 stand apart as the work of a Jew in the early part of Hadrian's reign, when the Jews are said to have hoped that Hadrian would restore the temple.

After 51, if we subtract the Christian touches and the relics of Hellenic prophecy embedded in the book, the rest will be found to express one mood, one indignation and one hope. To a Christian source we may without hesitation refer 256–259: possibly also 62–71, and also,

[1] In *Zeitschr. für kirchliche Wissenschaft*, vol. VII. 1886, pp. 37 ff.

[2] Zahn discerns in V. the work of—A, a Jew of about 74 A.D.; B, a second Jew, less fierce than A, of the time of Hadrian; and C, a Christian interpolator and redactor. His analysis is as follows:—A, 111–178, 200–205, 228–246, 361–433, 484–531; B, 1–49^{a}, 50^{b}, 52–110, 179–199, 206–227, 247–360, 434–483; C, 49^{a}, 50^{b}, 51, 257, 413, and perhaps other lines.

I am inclined to think, 228–246.[1] Hellenic are lines 115–136 : 186–7 are also clearly ancient : Hellenic sources may underlie 287–327, though a Jewish hand is also traceable, 333–5 and 336–7 are also from an old tradition ; 464 ff. goes back to the inroad of the Gauls into Asia and Greece in 280 B.C.

That the Jew who wrote the rest of the book was an Egyptian is unmistakably clear. In 52–92 we have prophecies of ruin on Memphis and other Egyptian cities: in 179–199 a group of oracles on Egypt and Cyrene : a word against Egyptian paganism in 279 f., an Egyptian prophecy in 458–463, and from 484–511 an idealistic picture of the downfall of Serapis, the conversion of his servants to the true God, and the erection of a true temple in Egypt. Thus the whole texture of the book is interwoven with Egyptian threads.

Its main themes are simple : lamentation over the destroyed temple, burning indignation against " Babylon," the city of evil-doers, thirst for vengeance ; visions of the end, with its woes and its conflict with the forces of Nero-Antichrist ; the rebuilding of the temple and the restoration of God's people to their proper and promised blessedness.

The book was written (apart from 1–51) after the death of Titus (411–413) but at a time when the legend of his sudden extinction had already found acceptance ; and it exhibits the Nero-legend in a developed form, with wilder features than those found in Book IV. These indications give no ground for precise calculation; nor do I believe that any safe deduction can be drawn from the allusions to the Parthians in 93 ff., 439 ff. ; " Parthia " in this book has already lost touch with history and taken

[1] I am in accord here with Geffcken, though I do not accept his treatment of the apostrophe to ὕβρις ; see note *ad loc.*

on the character of the mythical enemy of the people of God. One would however, be on safe ground in assigning the book to the last quarter of the first century A.D., and in classing it with the *Apocalypse of Baruch* and II. (IV.) *Esdras*: it is inspired by the same tragic passion as the latter, though falling far below it in nobility of thought and utterance.

III. DOCTRINE AND ESCHATOLOGY OF III.–V.

(*a*) The two and a half centuries which elapsed while the earliest Jewish Sibyllines were taking their present shape saw many and various developments in the sphere of eschatological teaching: hence it is possible to illustrate Bks. III.–V. on this side from Jewish literature, and especially from apocalyptic literature, of every date, but it is not possible to put together a coherent account of the Sibylline eschatological teaching; so it must suffice to indicate the main themes which occupy the writers of the various parts. On the other hand, these centuries saw little radical change in the main elements of primitive doctrine. "The belief in the one invisible spiritual God, who, Himself uncreated, has called out from himself this visible creaturely world, is the supreme essential in the mission preaching of Hellenistic Judaism."[1] This is also the chief dogmatic burden of the Sibyllines. They return again and again to the proclamation of monotheism and the denunciation of idolatry (III. 7–35, 545 ff., 586 ff., 604 ff., 629; IV. 6–17, 24–39; V. 75 ff., 276 ff, 353 ff., 403 ff).

The transcendent God whom they preach is ineffable as well as invisible (III. 18–19), and the Sibyllines illustrate the prevailing tendency of Hellenistic Judaism

[1] Bousset, R. J., 296.

to substitute periphrases and synonyms for the Divine Name.[1] Over against the moral defilements of heathenism, and its sexual laxity in particular (III. 36–45, 184 ff., 762 ff.; IV. 25–39; V. 386 ff., 429 ff.), is set in contrast the purity, kindness and brotherliness of the Jewish way of life (III. 219–247, 591–600). Here and there is seen a trace of the influence of Stoicism (*e.g.* communism the law of nature, III. 247; κοινὸς νόμος, III. 757), which also supplied some of the imagery connected with the catastrophic end of the world.[2]

These Jewish prophets, so intense in their hatred of paganism, are not all without hope for the pagan world. They call Hellas to repentance (III. 545–561), though sure that repentance will not come till doom has been inflicted (570 ff.): they appeal to heathendom, though sure that the appeal will not be heard (IV. 162–178). Yet they have visions of the conversion of the world: of a time when the one true temple will draw the peoples to join its worship and its praises (III. 616 ff.), and when the linen-clad priests of Serapis will bring oblations to Jehovah in a new Egyptian temple (V. 492–506).

(*b*) The *eschatology* of IV. and V. is relatively simple, since the books supply clear internal evidence of their date; and the references in the notes will perhaps suffice to show how closely they are related to the other apocalyptic literature, Jewish and Christian, of the latter part of the first century A.D. In Book IV. the great sign of the end is the eruption of Vesuvius, with the destruction of the temple, the decay of godliness (117, 152), and the disappearance and expected return of

[1] Cf. Bousset, R. J., pp. 305 ff.

[2] Especially the idea of a world conflagration, which the Stoics held, would consume all things and prepare for a recurrence of the whole of history. See, *e.g.*, V. 512, note.

Nero. At the end there is to be a great and universal conflagration (152–161); after this a resurrection of the body (179 ff.) and a general judgement. Those whom the judge condemns will go into gloom beneath the earth (43, 184–6), while the righteous will live on earth again in blessedness.

Book V. is more vivid than IV. but not dissimilar to it. One point of difference is that in V. the Messianic King, absent from IV., reappears (105 ff., 414 ff.): he is to come from the heavens, to destroy the enemies of God's Kingdom, to restore what the adversaries have pillaged, and to set up the new and perfect temple on earth. The sphere of his rule is to be terrestrial. But before he comes the woes of the last days have to be endured: first, the wars of the great adversaries of the Messiah, the Parthians[1] and their king (101 ff.), which will end in glory and peace for the Jews (247–255); then the conflagration, with tumult and war among the heavenly bodies (206 ff., 512 ff.). Parallel and presumably identical in essence with these pictures, are those connected definitely with Babylon-Rome. Babylon is to be burnt—a great star will be the sign—together with Italy and the sea, and then Rome is to be judged (155–160). A world-wide war is to bring the return of Nero-Antichrist, who will reign in power and earthly wisdom (220 ff., 361 ff.); but portents and devastations sent from heaven (298–305, 377 ff.) will set an end to his rule and usher in the reign of peace, which will be a period of fruitfulness and plenty for the righteous upon this earth (281–5), where the new temple is to be built in glory (422–7).

In Book III., however, the dating is all conjectural,

[1] In some passages the Ethiopians take the place of the Parthians (205 ff., 504 ff., see note on III. 319).

and the dates of the earliest and the latest Jewish matter are separated by more than two centuries. An attempt has been made in the notes to indicate which books of the Apocalyptic literature supply the closest parallels to each passage: but I have not presumed, for the most part, to treat the eschatological *data* as affording precise evidence of date.

Here as in the other books we have the signs of the end, the woes and wars of the end, the enemies of the Kingdom, the Antichrist, the Messianic King, the judgement, the great conflagration, and the new age; while the Hellenic oracles of destruction appear to be scattered broadcast as emphasizing the general predictions of coming doom. Among the signs may be mentioned the great comet (333 ff.), the visions of fiery swords in heaven (673 ff.) and of warring hosts in the sky (796 ff.). There is to be a universal war (632 ff.), an uprising of Gog and Magog (319 ff.), a time of dearth (539 ff., 647 ff.), and after the great fire (80 ff., 54 ff., 543, 690), or the destruction of Babylon (303 ff.), the new age will come: a time of peace and plenty on this earth (in one passage (658 ff.) this golden age appears to be doubled—it comes both before and after the Judgement). The heathen will be converted (702 ff.) and the wicked burnt up (741 ff.). It will be the work of the Messianic King (46 ff., 95, 286 ff., 652 ff.) to judge the world and execute sentence, to make a perpetual end to war (653), to restore the temple to its full splendour (657 ff., 288) and to reign among men for ever (49 f.).

When the eschatological passages of Book III. are compared as a whole, and even line by line, with those of IV. and V., they convey the impression of lateness. It is true that the author of V. may have borrowed freely from III., yet it seems to me that in

many passages of III. a situation similar to that of V. is presupposed. The king of Book III., like that of V., is to restore the temple; desecration of the temple is imminent in III. 660 ff.; the enemies of God are to be judged for attacking the temple in III. 687. It may be urged that all this, or much of it, might have been written in the Maccabæan times, or even in those of Pompey. Yet when the passages are taken in the mass they do not suggest those epochs. It looks, indeed, as if the oracles had been often worked over. Thus we have in III. 248–285 a history of Israel from the Exodus to the Exile; then, in 286, comes a reference to the restoration; yet the restorer is not Cyrus, but the Messiah, King and Judge. In 301 we return to Babylon—but this time it is of Babylon-Rome, and not of the historical Babylon, that the Sibyl speaks. This is a fairly clear case of the re-modelling of an early passage to suit the circumstances and hopes of a later period.[1] And if beneath the main eschatological passages of Book III. there lies an early substratum, I am inclined to think that it was carefully worked over in the middle of the first century A.D.

IV.—THE SIBYLLINES IN EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

As we have seen, it was the Jews of Alexandria who were the first after Berosus to adopt, adapt and amplify the Sibylline oracles for the purpose of their own religion. From about 160 B.C. to the end of the 1st century A.D. they continued to utilize them, nor did they entirely

[1] The interpretation adopted of III. 388 ff., if it be correct, gives another instance.

cease to do so till two centuries later. But the Sibyllines were destined to pass almost entirely out of Jewish hands. They were not retained among the apologetic weapons of Rabbinic and Talmudic Judaism: and if this was due in part to the deep cleavage which divided Judaism from Hellenism after the revolt of Bar-Cochba, it was in larger measure due to the whole-hearted adoption of the Sibyl by Christian apologists, and the additions made by Christian writers to the Sibylline literature.

It may be that the Christian use of the oracles began with the formation of a body of *testimonia* from this and similar sources; *testimonia* collected, like those from the Old Testament,[1] to bear witness partly to the primary doctrines of monotheism and ethical purity, and partly to the anticipations of the Incarnation and the Cross which could be discerned in pre-Christian prophecy. The frequent appeals in early Christian literature to "the Sibyl and Hystaspes" point in this direction; and it has been suggested that the *proœmium* of Theophilus was derived from some such anthology of witness. But the Christian re-touching of the oracles began at an early date, very possibly in the first century A.D.; and in the middle of the 2nd century Celsus was able[2] to tax the Church with the deliberate forgery of spurious oracles, while Lucian's parodies[3] are clearly aimed at Christian Sibyllists: in the story of the impostor Peregrinus, who became a Christian and an ἀρχισυναγωγεύς, we read that he not only made a reputation as an interpreter of Christian βιβλία, but "some of them he also wrote himself."

[1] See Rendel Harris, *Testimonia*.
[2] Orig. *c. Cels.* v. 61, vii. 56.
[3] Lucian, *de morte Peregrini*, 29, 30; *Alexander*, 11.

The Christian Apologists accepted in entire good faith the existing Hellenic and Jewish tradition, and had no doubts as to the reality of the Sibyl's inspiration. Justin Martyr[1] names Hystaspes, the Sibyl, and the prophets in the same breath. Athenagoras[2] quotes from Book III., fortifying himself with a reference to Plato. In Theophilus of Antioch more than eighty lines are cited. His appeal is explicit: "The prophets spoke concerning the creation of the world and all other things, for they foretold famines, plagues and wars; and there were not one or two only, but a number of them at various times among the Hebrews; moreover, among the Greeks there was the Sibyl: and these all gave consenting and harmonious testimony both of things before and during their own time, and of things which are now coming to pass among us; wherefore we believe that as the former things have been fulfilled, so it will be in respect of the future."[3] To Clement of Alexandria the Sibyl is a prophetess, divinely taught (ἐνθέως σφόδρα), "one of our own poets";[4] she sang at God's behest, as Heraclitus says. "Just as God gave the prophets because He willed the salvation of the Jews, so He raised up the noblest of the Hellenes as prophets befitting their own way of speech, in so far as they were able to receive the good gift of God, and separated them from common men." Origen is only concerned to refute what he holds to be the calumny of Celsus, that there are Christian Σιβυλλιστοί,[5] by challenging Celsus to produce ancient copies of the oracles in which the Christian passages are not to be found. He does not follow Clement in quoting the Sibyl herself.

Yet Celsus was right, and it would seem that Greek

[1] *Apol.* I. 44. [2] *Leg.* 30. [3] ad Autol. II. 3, 36.
[4] *Strom.* VI. v.; *Protr.* ii., viii., etc. [5] *c. Cels.* vii. 56.

Christianity came to recognize the fact. Down to Origen and Hippolytus[1] the Greek use of the Sibyl was continuous; and Book VIII., a composition of the 3rd quarter of the second century, was doubtless the work of a Catholic Christian: but the later Christian books are tinged with heresy, and it would seem that in the East the Sibylline tradition passed off into the backwaters of Christian life: it recurs in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and (very fully) in the pseudo-Justinian *Cohortatio ad Græcos*, but for the rest its only home is in the regions of strange speculation and popular superstition. The great fathers of the fourth century ignore it altogether.

In the West the history of eschatological doctrine and apocalyptic literature took a different course, and the longer survival of the sibyl among the Latin communities is only one instance of the general divergence. Tertullian follows the Greek apologists in giving a high place to the Sibyl. She is older than all literature: her evidence is the "testimonia divinarum literarum."[2] He is followed by Arnobius and Commodian, and, above all, by Lactantius. In the seven books of the *Divinæ Institutiones*, one of the series of polemical and apologetic works which we may regard as precursors of the *De Civitate Dei*, Lactantius relies throughout, with implicit confidence, on the testimony of the Sibyl. His armoury contains some strange weapons—pseudo-Orphic verses, oracles of Apollo, relics of the pseudo-Hystaspes, quotations from *Hermes Trismegistus*. To the last of these he attributes almost divine authority;[3] but the Sibyl stands higher: her witness is directly inspired

[1] *de Christo et Antichristo*, 52.

[2] *Ad. Nat.* II. 12; *Apol.* 19.

[3] *Inst.* i. 6, 1, unum proferam quod est simile divino, et ob nimiam uetustatem et quod is quem nominabo ex hominibus in deos relatus est.

by God,[1] he quotes it in the same breath as that of Isaiah and the Books of Kings.[2] Lactantius is aware that the purity of the Sibylline text has been assailed: to assert that Christians have tampered with the oracles is the common refuge of those who cannot refute their witness. Yet, he argues, Cicero and Varro and others who died before the advent of Christ refer to the Erythræan Sibyl and others, from whose books we take our quotations. All that we find in them stood there in Varro's time, and long before, but it could not be understood before it was fulfilled in the Incarnation: and that is why the Sibyl was thought to be insane and untruthful.[3] What the Pagans did not understand we can interpret: we can prove that the revelation of monotheism stood in their own sacred books—that it was the teaching of Apollo himself.[4]

An interesting comment on this attitude of Lactantius comes from the East, from Gregory of Nazianzus.[5] It is true, he says, that Hermes and the Sibyl are ostensibly on the side of the Cross: yet they are not inspired; they have merely borrowed from the Bible. On the other hand, the influence of Lactantius is clearly seen in one of Constantine's *Declamations*, the *Oratio ad Sanctorum Cœtum*,[6] in which the acrostic of Book VIII. is quoted at length, the authority of the Sibyl is defended in Lactantian terms, and the IVth Eclogue is brought in as a prophecy of the Church (*nova progenies*) and the Christ, derived from Sibylline sources. Further, it is to Lactantius, clearly, that the Sibyl owes her place among the

[1] *ib.*, nunc ad divina testimonia transeamus; IV. 23, 4, sed nos ab humanis ad divina redeamus. Sibylla dicit haec, etc.
[2] *ib.*, iv. 13, 21.
[3] *ib.*, iv. 15, 26–31.
[4] *ib.*, i. 7, 1.
[5] *Carm.* II. vii. 245 ff.
[6] Appended to Eus., *de Vita Constantini.*

children of the City of God.[1] Augustine, it is true, quotes the acrostic in a rough Latin version from a source which is independent of Lactantius, but the remainder of his reference to the Sibyl is taken directly from the Divine *Institutes*. That he ever made any independent use of the oracles is improbable; and the favourable judgement of the *de Civitate Dei* is toned down elsewhere.[2] Augustine does not rank the Sibyl with the prophets of the Church, nor attribute to her any authority of her own.

Yet the name of Augustine, and the lesser fame but more copious quotations of Lactantius, sufficed to sustain the reputation of the Sibyl in Latin Christianity.[3] The Greek collections of oracles were entirely unknown in the West; but the tradition which originated with them lived on until in the middle ages. Their place was supplied by a stream of forgeries, a stream which continued to flow down to the nineteenth century.[4]

Of the mediæval Sibyls and of the place of the Sibyl in Christian art this is not the place to write. Nor can we follow the traces of the Sibyl in the East. What one would like to know is how it came about that any MSS. of the oracles survived at all, and what was the cause of the revival of interest in them which led to their being recognized and recopied in the fourteenth century, which is the date of the earliest extant manuscripts.

[1] Aug. *ae Civitate Dei*, xviii. 23.

[2] *Contra Faustum Manichæum*, xiii. 1 and 15.

[3] Yet that reputation varied. In the *Dies Irae*, for the line, "Teste David cum Sibylla," an alternative version existed: "Crucis expandens uexilla."

[4] Geffcken in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, 1901, p. 214.

V. NOTE ON THE NERO-LEGEND.

The birth of Nero, like that of Alexander the Great, was believed to have been marked by portents indicating his more than human descent and his high destiny.[1] The news of his death gave rise to strange rumours.[2] Nero, strange to say, was not universally hated. Half a century after his death it could be said that "even at this time all men long that he may be alive" (Dio Chrys. *Or.* xxi.). Possibly there was in many minds a doubt whether he had really died: and the doubt was sufficiently general, as early as 69 A.D., at the time of Otho's accession, to tempt a pretender to appear on the strength of it (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 8, 9). Although his body was brought to Rome, to discredit his pretensions, he was followed by one, if not also by a second, imitator. It is not quite clear whether the second impostor appeared about 80 A.D. under Titus, and the third eight years later under Domitian, or whether the second and third were one and the same. Zonaras (in Dio Cass. LXVI. ii., see also Suet. *Nero*, 57) tells the story of one Terentius Maximus, an Asiatic, who, trading on his personal resemblance to Nero, and on the fact that like Nero he was a musician, collected a following in Asia and moved towards the Euphrates, gathering support as he went. He then took refuge with the Parthian king Artabanus,

[1] Cf. *Sib.* V. 140, and contrast 146. Suet., *Nero* 6, de genitura eius statim multa et formidolosa multis contigerunt. According to Dio, LXI. 2, strange and supernatural lights were seen at his birth.

[2] A parallel case is that of Alexander the Great; it was a popular belief for centuries that he had not died. As late as the end of the second century A.D. a pseudo-Alexander, trading on this superstition, headed a Dionysiac procession from the Danube to Byzantium (Dio Cass., LXXIX. 18).

who was so impressed by his claims, and so pleased to have a tangible ground for attacking Titus, that he almost declared war against Rome, in order to reinstate the alleged Nero on his throne.

It seems probable that Terentius Maximus' adventure was designed to work along the lines of an already existing expectation, *i. e.* that Nero would re-appear from the far East: for the Nero-legend, as it appears in *Or. Sib.* Book V., appears to date, in some if not in all of its main features, from the time of Vespasian. A significant passage is V. 222–4, which must be read together with a passage in the *Epistle of Barnabas* (IV. 4). Nero is to "cut off three heads from among ten horns"; "ten kingdoms," says Barnabas, "shall reign upon the earth, and after them shall rise up a little king, who shall lay low three of the kings in one." In like manner Daniel saith concerning the same: "And I saw the fourth beast, wicked and strong and untoward beyond all the beasts of the earth, and how that ten horns sprang out of it, and out of them as it were a little horn as an offshoot (*παραφυάδιον*, cf. *παραφυόμενον κέρας*, *Or. Sib.* III. 400), and how that it laid low three of the great horns in one. Ye ought therefore to understand." Lightfoot makes it highly probable (*Apostolic Fathers*, I. ii. 506 f.) that the "offshoot horn" here is the Antichrist, the ten horns are ten Cæsars reckoning from Julius, and the three horns are Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian as associated together in the exercise of the imperial power. The meaning of the passage, then, is that Nero will return to make an end of the Flavian Cæsars: it is expressed with deliberate obscurity, as a dangerous truth, but in such a way that the initiate will understand. The Sibylline prediction clearly has the same significance, and we may therefore infer that the expectation upon which both V. 222 ff.

and Barn. IV. 4 was based must have originated during the lifetime of Vespasian.

The identification of the legendary Nero with the Antichrist (or his precursor) was eagerly made by Jewish, and still more so by Christian apocalyptists. "This persecutor of the disciples, this prodigy of wickedness and audacity who outraged humanity and defied nature, the son who murdered his mother, the engineer who would sever the Isthmus and join the two seas—who could he be but the man of sin, the Antichrist or the forerunner of the Antichrist?" (Lightfoot, *loc. cit.*). Thus in Rev. xiii. 3, 12, Nero is the beast whose "death-stroke was healed," he "who hath the stroke of the sword, and lived"; and in xvii. 8, 11, he is "the beast who was and is not, and is about to come up out of the abyss and to go into perdition."

In *Or. Sib.* III.–V. the following passages refer to this legendary figure: III. 63 (conceivably); IV. 117–124, 137–139; V. 27–34, 137–154 (perhaps also 100 ff.), 214–224, 361–372.

In V. 27 ff., 214 ff. the disappearance of Nero is connected with his ill-omened attempt to cut a canal through the Corinthian Isthmus, a work in which Jewish prisoners sent by Vespasian were employed. He did not die—here the tradition diverges from that in the Apocalypse—but ran from Rome as a fugitive (IV. 117, 138; V. 138, 214), and took refuge beyond the Euphrates, beyond Parthia, with the Persians and the Medes. He was the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem: he plotted with the Medes and Persians against the Jews, and took the temple, burnt the citizens and those who went up to the temple.

The delineations of V., compared with those of IV., are more highly coloured, and their apocalyptic content

is fuller. In V. the second-century passage 27 ff. says that Nero will "make himself equal with God." The earlier passages are less definite and yet stronger. As in Rev. xii. 3 ff., "the whole earth wondered after the beast," so in 137 ff., "when he appeared the whole creation was shaken": as in Rev. xii. 5, there was given to him a mouth speaking great things . . . and authority; so in 214 ff. he will "do great things, for God will give him power to do as no king had done before": "he will devise more prudently than any man" (366): he will seize upon Rome, and bring in a reign of terror which will only terminate with the great catastrophe of the end. All this is to come about "in the last time, when the moon reaches its last days." And the Antichrist who will then appear will (like the Belial of the Ascension of Isaiah) be one who murdered his mother (363, 31, 145). His coming is divinely permitted (220), and (as in Rev. xiii. 7) the power which he is to wield will be given him by God.

The later Sibylline books add nothing to the picture here drawn. But the belief that Nero was alive, and would return, did not die quickly. "Most men," said Dio Chrysostom early in the second century, "verily do believe at this day that Nero is living." It was held and asserted by Victorinus of Pettau at the end of the third century,[1] and rejected as "delirious" by the author of *Lactantius de Morte Persecutorum*.[2] Jerome notes it as a common opinion,[3] but passes no judgement upon it: Augustine[4] repudiates it with contempt, while Sulpicius Severus puts it, in an elaborate form, into the mouth of

[1] Victorinus *in Apocalypsin*, *Corpus. Scr. Eccl. Lat.* 49, p. 120.
[2] Lact. *de Morte Pers.*, 2, 8.
[3] Jerome, *Comm. in Dan.* xi. 29.
[4] Aug., *De Civ. Dei*, XX. 19.

an interlocutor in a dialogue,[1] and appears to hold it true himself.[2] Even in the East there is a possible trace of it in St. Chrysostom,[3] but whether he regarded Nero as anything more than a type of Antichrist is left—perhaps intentionally—obscure.

VI. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(i) Editions.

The *editio princeps* is that of *Betuleius* (Sixtus Birken), Basle, 1545: it was followed by that of *Castalio* (S. Châteillon), also published at Basle, in 1555, and by those of *Opsopoeus* (Joh. Koch), at Paris in 1599 and 1607. No one appears to have anything good to say of the work of *Servatius Gallaeus* (Servais Galle), a polemical Protestant edition published at Amsterdam in 1688; and the edition included by *Gallandi* in the *Bibliotheca veterum Patrum* (Venice, 1765) added only a little to the achievement of earlier scholars. The first discovery of *Angelo Mai*[4] was published in 1817, and the second was included in the *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio* of 1828. A full account of his predecessors' work is given in the monumental work of *C. Alexandre* (Paris 1841,'53,'56), which, with its voluminous Excursus and Supplementary Notes, is still indispensable to the student. This fine piece of erudition marks the beginning of the modern study of the Oracula. It was followed by the text, commentary, and German metrical rendering of *J. H. Friedlieb* (Leipzig, 1852); but the first attempt at

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* ii.
[2] Id. *Hist. Sacr.* II. xxix. "Creditur . . . sub saeculi fine mittendus ut mysterium iniquitatis exerceat.
[3] Chrys. *Hom. IV. on ii. Thess.*
[4] See above, p. 16.

a thorough critical study of the text was made by *Alois Rzach* (Vienna 1891, followed by *Analekta zur kritik und Exegese der S. O.*, Vienna 1907. Further progress was made by *Joh. Geffcken*, whose text (undertaken for the Prussian Kirchenvater Commission, and issued at Leipzig in 1902) has been mainly followed in the present translation. In his introduction Geffcken gives an account of various scholars, notably *Mendelssohn* and *Buresch*, who planned editions which they did not live to complete, and left valuable material behind them.

(ii) Translations.

Besides the rendering into Latin hexameters which forms part of the work of Alexandre, and the German hexameters of Friedlieb, the Oracles as a whole are accessible in the rendering of *J. Floyer* (London 1731) and that of *M. S. Terry* (New York, 1890), while Books III.–V., translated with valuable notes and an introduction by *H. C. O. Lanchester*, will be found in Vol. II. pp. 368 ff. of Dr. Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford 1913): they are also rendered into German prose by *Blass* in vol ii. of Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des alten Testaments* (Tübingen, 1900).

(iii) Essays, Articles, etc.

Out of the mass of literature dealing with the Sibylline Oracles it is only possible to mention here a few works which have been found useful, directly or indirectly, in the preparation of this book.

Bousset, W., Antichrist (English Translation.)

,, Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter (cited as R. J.), (Berlin, 1903).

Schürer, The Jewish People in the time of Christ, Div. II. vol. iii., esp. pp. 271 ff.

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Badt, B., Ursprung, Inhalt und Text des vierten Buches der sibyllinischen Orakel (Breslau, 1878)

Geffcken J., Komposition und Entstehungszeit der Oracula Sibyllina, in Texte und Untersuchungen (cited as T. U.) new series, viii. i. (Leipzig, 1902).

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„ *ib.* 1900, pp. 88 ff. (Die babylonische Sibylle).

„ in Preussische Jahrbucher, 1901 (November), pp. 193–214 (Die Sibylle).

Zahn, Th., in Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft, vii., 1886, pp. 32 ff.

Note.—The sign † is used in the translation to indicate passages where the text is specially obscure or corrupt.

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

BOOK III

1–7, 8–45: *A Prologue.*

Heavenly blessed One, thundering from on high, who enthroned dost hold the Cherubim in thy hand, give me rest a little space, who have uttered words of very truth: for my heart is weary within me.

But why is this, that my heart again is shaken, and my spirit, smitten with a scourge, is driven to proclaim unto all a voice from within her? Yet once more will I utter all things that God bids me tell out to men.

Ye men, to whom God has given an image shaped by Him in His likeness, why do ye vainly err, and walk

1–7. The Sibyl, true to her character (Plut., *De Pyth. Or.*, VII Σίβυλλα *μαινομένῳ στόματι, καθ' Ἡράκλειτον . . . φθεγγομένη.* Verg., *Æn.* VI. 76–80) speaks only under the stress of inspiration. This is maintained throughout Book III. (cf. 162 ff., 295 ff., 489 ff.) and Book V. (52, 111, 286), and is implied in the opening of IV. cf. 162 ff., 489 ff., 295 ff., IV. 18, V. 52, 111, 286.

8–45. Proclamation of monotheism and polemic against idolatry, especially that of the Egyptians (30). For this passage Bloss (in Kautzsch, *Apokryphen*, II. 184) substitutes the similar lines from Theoph., *Ad. Autol.* ii. 366, which Theophilus alleges to come from the Sibyl *ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς προφητείας.* But the Theophilus passage is less simple than 8–45, and has one clearly Christian line. Geffcken (*Z. U.* 15, 69 ff.) decides in favour of 8–45, which, however, he considers to be probably Christian, on the ground that they follow the regular routine of Christian apologetic. It would be safer to say that they represent just the type of Jewish argumentation which Christian apologists most eagerly borrowed. See the refs. in Geffcken, *Comm. ad. loc.*

not in a straight path, remembering ever the immortal Creator? There is one God, sole ruler, ineffable, dwelling in the sky, self-begotten, invisible, who Himself alone seeth all things: whom the hand of the stone-worker made not, nor does the form shaped by art of man from gold or ivory reveal Him; but the Eternal Himself revealed Himself, who is and was and ever shall be: for who being mortal can behold God with his eyes? or who can bear even to hear but the name of the great God of heaven that ruleth the world? Who by His word created all things, the heaven and the sea and the unwearying sun and the moon at her full, and the shining stars, the mighty mother Tethys, fountains and rivers, fire undying, days and nights. He is the God who formed Adam, name of four letters, who was first created, and took the full meaning of his name from East and West and South and North; and He established the form and shape of mortals, and made the beasts, birds and creeping things. Ye worship Him not, nor do ye fear God, but vainly err, adoring serpents

11. "The belief in the one invisible spiritual God, who, Himself uncreated, has called out from Himself this visible creaturely world, is the supreme essential in the mission-preaching of Hellenistic Judaism" (Bousset, *R. J.* 296). The Jewish verses ascribed to Orpheus, Æschylus, Sophocles, etc., illustrate this as clearly as do the Sibylline books: cf. IV. 10 ff., and Exod. xxiv. 9–11 (LXX.), as contrasted with Ps. xvii. 15, Isaiah xxxviii. 11.

18. *The name:* cf. Lev. xviii. 16 (LXX.). "He that nameth the name of the Lord, let him die the death," and the legend quoted from Alex. Polyhistor by Eus., *Præp. Ev.* IX. xxvii.—"and when the king (Pharaoh) heard it (the Name) he fell speechless." Cf. Bousset, *R. J.* 302 ff.

25. The four letters of Adam represent Anatole, Dusis, Arktos, Mesembria; cf. 2 Enoch, 30. 13; this "acrostic" reappears in ps-Cyprian *De Montibus Sina et Sion*, 4. It implies the existence of a tradition that Greek was the original language: cf. Jub. 3, 28, note.

30. See the similar denunciations of Egyptian animal-worship in V. 77 ff., 279 f., etc. The topic was congenial to Jewish and

and doing sacrifice to cats and dumb idols, and to images of men wrought in stone, and to godless temples, sitting before their doors; † ye do not pay observance to the God Who is, who guardeth all things, ye who rejoice in vile stones, forgetting the judgement of the immortal Saviour who made heaven and earth. Ah, bloodthirsty race, guileful, evil, impious: race of false men, double-tongued, crafty, adulterous, guileful in mind, in whose breasts evil is implanted, a raging frenzy: who grasp at plunder for themselves, shameless in spirit; for none that has wealth and possessions will give a share to another, but grievous wickedness shall be found among all mortals, and they will not keep faith, but many a woman that is a widow will give herself in secret love to men, and will not keep to the plumb-line of life in wedlock.

45–62. *Woes upon Rome: the Messianic Kingdom and Judgement.*

But when Rome shall rule over Egypt, though still delaying, then shall the great kingdom of the immortal

Christian apologists alike; cf. Letter of Aristeas, 138, Justin, *Apol.* i. 24, 2.

35. *Saviour:* cf. Wisd. xvi. 7, Ecclus. li. 1, 1 Macc. iv. 30, 3 Macc. vi. 32.

46–62. The dating of this passage depends partly on the identifications of the "three" in l. 52, and partly on the interpretation of ll. 46–7. (*a*) If the "three" are the Second Triumvirate, Antony, Lepidus, Octavius, the passage is not earlier than the period between 43 and 31 B.C., when Roman sovereignty in Egypt, already asserted by the removal of Ptolemy Auletes in 51 B.C., had not yet been organized as it was after the battle of Actium. (*b*) A less likely interpretation identifies the "three" with the First Triumvirate, Cæsar, Pompey and Crassus, 60 B.C.; the miseries of the Second Triumvirate might well be described as laying Rome waste, but the words would hardly fit the situation of 60 B.C. (*c*) It is still less likely that l. 46 refers to the discomfiture of Antiochus Epiphanes by Popillius Lænas at Eleusis in 168 B.C., the "three" being on that view the Gracchi. (*d*) Lanchester is inclined to refer l. 46 to

king appear among men, and a holy king shall come
50 who shall have rule over the whole earth for all ages of
the course of time. Then shall implacable wrath fall
upon the men of Latium; three men shall ravage Rome
with pitiable affliction; and all men shall perish beneath
their own roof-tree, when the torrent of fire shall flow
55 down from heaven. Ah, wretched me, when shall that
day come, and the judgement of immortal God, the
great king? Yet still be ye builded, ye cities, and all
adorned with temples and theatres, with market squares
and images of gold, silver and stone, that so ye may
60 come to the day of bitterness. For it shall come, when
the smell of brimstone shall pass upon all men. But I
will tell out singly how many are the cities in which men
shall suffer ill.

the bequest of Cyrene to the Roman people by Ptolemy Apion in 96 B.C., and to identify the "three" with Marius, Sulla and Cinna.

But (1) a comparison of the Messianic figure in ll. 49–50 with that in Ps. Sol. xvii. 23 ff., 1 Enoch, 48. 5, 2 Baruch, 72. 2 ff., suggests a late date for the passage; and (2) this is supported by l. 54: the predicted conflagration is universal and "apocalyptic": it can hardly refer to any actual event (such as the fire on the Capitol in 83 B.C.). Now the conception of a world-destroying fire preceding the New Age is a feature of late Apocalyptic (Bousset, *R. J.*, cf. III. 83 ff., V. 54 ff., 72 ff.; and it seems, therefore, probable that 46–62 belongs to the latest Jewish stratum of Book III.

The rule of the holy King in ll. 46 ff. ends in judgement and calamity. Similarly, in 1 Enoch 91. 11–19, 93. 1–14, the "eighth week" is that of a kingdom which ends in judgement: cf. *Sib.*, III. 652–660, and 1 Cor. xv. 23–28. Dominant in late Apocalyptic (as in Rev. xx. and 2(4) Ezra), this conception is foreign to the earlier literature. Whether it is pre-Christian at all seems to be doubtful.

60. *brimstone*. Luke xvii. 29 f. = Gen. xix. 24.

63 ff. Who are the Sebasteni from whom Belial is to come? According to Bousset, *Antichrist*, 96 f. (E. T.) they are the Augusti; Antichrist is to spring from the dynasty of the Cæsars, a view not easy to square with Bousset's belief that the passage is earlier than the age of Augustus. When Suetonius says (*Nero* xl.) that the dominion of the East and the kingdom of Judah were foretold

63–92, 93–96. *Miracles and Doom of Antichrist; the final Conflagration; return of the Messiah.*

Now from the Sebastenes shall Belial return, and he shall move the high mountains, still the sea, shall make the great blazing sun and the bright moon stand still, shall raise the dead and do many signs among men: yet shall his signs not be fulfilled. But he leads many astray, and shall deceive many faithful and elect of the Hebrews, and lawless men besides, who never yet hearkened to God's word.

But when the threatenings of the great king come near to fulfilment, and a fiery power comes through the deep to land and burns up Belial and all men of pride, even all that put their trust in him: then shall the world be ruled beneath a woman's hand, and obey her in all things. And when a widow rules over the whole world, and casts gold and silver into the deep sea with

to Nero during his lifetime, it is to a tradition of this kind that he refers.

But, according to Geffcken and Jülicher, the Sebasteni are the people of Samaria, which was re-named Sebaste by Herod the Great in 25 B.C.; the Antichrist from Samaria must be connected with Simon Magus, and the whole passage shows a Christian hand.

63. *Beliar:* on the name see Bousset, *R. J.* 328 f. The Antichrist of *Sib.* V. is a tyrant; here he is a false prophet, as often in Christian tradition, *e.g.* 2 Thess. ii. 1–12, Rev. xiii. 1–18 (cf. 1 John ii. 18, etc.), Mark xiii. 22, 2 Thess. ii. 9 f.; Didache 16, "then shall appear the deceiver of the world as Son of God." He is called Beliar as in 2 Cor. vi. 15: so also in Asc. Is. iv. 2.

64. στήσει apparently here = raise up, take away, remove, in 65 "cause to stand still," and in 66 merely "raise up." For the portents of Antichrist (Mark xiii. 22) see Bousset, *Antichrist* (E.T.), 175 ff.

75. The Woman, and the Widow of l. 77 are Rome (rather than Cleopatra); Rev. xvii. 3, etc.: cf. *Sib.* VIII. 194.

78. *Cast gold and silver into the sea.* It is tempting to see here a reference to Nero's vast project, actually begun and abandoned, of cutting a canal from Lake Avernus to Ostia; Tac. *Ann.* xv. 42, Suet. *Nero* 31.

the bronze and iron of short-lived mortals, then shall all the elements of the world be as one widowed, when God that dwelleth in the heavens shall roll up the sky as a book is rolled up: and the whole firmament with its many signs shall fall upon the earth and the sea; and then shall flow a ceaseless torrent of liquid fire, and shall burn up the earth and burn up the sea, and melt down the firmament of heaven, the days and the very creation, fusing them into one clear mass.

And then no longer does one pay heed to the planetary spheres that laugh aloud, nor to night nor daybreak, nor to day following day, nor to spring and summer, autumn and winter. And then shall come forth the judgement of the great God, in the great age, when all these things come to pass.

Ah, for the waters where go the ships, and for all the dry land, when that sun rises which shall not set again! All things shall obey him when he returns to the world; therefore was he the first to know his own power.

80. Cf. Sib. II. 206 ff., Isaiah xxxiv. 4, 2 Pet. iii. 10. The "elements" here and in *Sib.* II. are (air), earth, sea, starry heaven, day and night.

87. A faint reminiscence of Mal. iii. 3, χωνεύων καὶ καθαρίζων.

89 f. Close parallels in 2(4) Ezra vii. 39 f., cf. 2 Enoch 65–7. The "great age" is one and timeless: 2 Enoch 33. 2, "I appointed . . . that at the beginning of the eight thousand years there should be a time of not-counting, endless, with neither years nor months nor weeks nor days nor hours." For the place of this conception in Stoic doctrine see Zeller, III. i. 154, note 2, *Phil. der Gr.*; for Jewish illustrations, and Persian analogues, Bousset, *R. J.* 232 ff., 476, note 3.

92. *The great God.* For the increased stress laid upon the Divine transcendence in later Judaism, and its influence upon names and attributes employed, see Bousset, *R. J.* 302 ff., especially 305, note 8.

93–6. Clearly Christian; on 95 cf. 1 Cor. xv. 27, Heb. ii. 8; the line is apparently quoted in Ps. Just. *Coh. ad Gr.* 38.

97–154. *The Tower of Babel: myth of Kronos and the Titans.*

But when the threatenings of the great king come to fulfilment, wherewith once he threatened mankind, when they built a tower in the land of Assyria, and were all of one speech, and wished to climb up to the starry heaven, then straightway the Immortal laid a great command upon the winds: and when the winds cast down the tower great and high, and stirred up strife among mortals against each other; then did mortals give the name of Babylon to their city.

But when the tower had fallen, and the languages of men were changed into divers tongues, then the whole world of men was filled with divided kingdoms; and then was the tenth generation of mortal men since the deluge came upon those of old time. Then reigned Kronos, Titan and Iapetus, the noblest children of Gaia (earth) and Ouranos (heaven), whom men called Earth and Heaven because they were the foremost of mortal men. These had each for his portion a third part of the earth, and each held and ruled his own portion

96. The text is obscure; Lanchester conjectures ἐπήγνυε for ἐπέγνω; "forasmuch as he first fashioned them, and his might"; but possibly ἐπέγνω or ἐπεγνώκει is right, and the allusion is to such a consciousness of power as is expressed in Matt. xi. 27.

97–154. Geffcken has shown (*Nachrichten der k. Gesellschaft zu Göttingen*, 1900, 88 ff., TU 2 ff.) that this section is a Jewish redaction of material from the Babylonian Sibyl. Alexander Polyhistor (in Josephus, *Ant.* I. iv. 3) knew the Babylonian version; he quotes the Sibyl for the story of the tower, thus: "but *the gods* sent winds and overthrew the tower, and gave each man a separate language." Other refs. in Geffcken's note.

113. *they were . . . mortal men:* this is not merely an "euhemerism"; it is directly derived from Euhemerus, from whose "humanized mythology" the Babylonian Sibyl took the whole story of the Titans, as may be seen from Ennius' version of Euhemerus quoted in Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* I. 14, 2.

without conflict; for an oath had been laid on them by their father and a just apportionment. But when the full time came, and their father was old, then he died: then his sons transgressed grievously the oath and stirred up strife against each other, which of them should have royal honour and rule over all mankind; and now Kronos and now Titan fought against the others. But them did Rhea and Gaia and Aphrodite lover of garlands with Demeter and Hestia and fair-tressed Dione bring to agreement: for they gathered together all the kings, their brothers' kindred, and those of their own blood, and others such as were of one blood and parentage with them; and they adjudged that Kronos as king should rule over all, for that he was eldest and noblest to look upon. Thereupon Titan laid upon Kronos a great oath, that he would not bring up male offspring which should have kingship when old age and destiny should come upon Kronos: but whenever Rhea bore a child, by her sat the Titans, and tore in pieces all the men-children, but the maids they left alive with their mother, to be reared. But when the lady Rhea brought forth for the third time, she bare Hera first, and when they saw with their eyes that the child was a maid, the Titans those fierce men went off by themselves: and then Rhea brought forth a man-child; him she sent swiftly to be nurtured apart and in secret, to Phrygia, laying three men, Cretans, under an oath; therefore they called him Zeus, because he was sent thither. And in

116. *oath . . . apportionment;* with this may be compared Noah's division of the earth into three lots, and the oath with which it was ratified; see Jub. 8 and 9, esp. 8, 11 ff., 9, 14.

141. Δία . . . ὅτιὴ διεπέμφθη. The usual Stoic account of the name Δία is that *through* Zeus all things were made; this reappears in Jewish writings, *e. g.*, Aristeas, 16. The Sibyllist's version is on a lower level of intelligence.

like manner she sent over Poseidon secretly. Yet a third time Rhea that fair goddess bare Pluto, on her way past Dodona, whence flow the watery ways of the river Europus, and pass to mingle with Peneius, and men call the stream Stygian. But when the Titans heard that there were men-children kept secretly, whom Kronos had begotten of Rhea his consort, then Titan gathered his sixty sons and kept in bondage Kronos and Rhea his consort, hid them in the earth, and kept them in bonds and in ward. This then the sons of mighty Kronos heard, and stirred up great war and battle against him; and this was the beginning of war for all mortals.

And then God made evil to come upon the Titans, and all the offspring of the Titans and of Kronos perished. But then in the course of time he raised up the kingdom of Egypt, then of the Persians, Medes, Æthopians and Assyrian Babylon; thereafter of the Macedonians, then again that of Egypt, and then of Rome.

162–195. *The Kingdoms of the earth, down to Rome as the destroyer of the Seleucids.*

Thereon the voice of the great God arose in my heart, and bade me prophesy over all the earth and before kings, and to put them in mind of that which was to be. And this first did God give into my mind, how many empires shall be raised up among men.

161. The insertion of Egypt in the series of world powers between Macedonia and Rome betrays an Egyptian hand

156–210. The disorder of this section is inextricable. The general idea seems to be a transition from the myth of the Titans to an outline of world-history, ending with that of Israel: and this transition is repeated in several forms, with matter of very various dates and kinds entangled in it. Thus in 156–161 we have the series

First of all the house of Solomon shall bear rule, † and the Phœnicians, invaders of Asia and the isles as well, and the race of Pamphylians, the Persians and Phrygians, the Carians and Mysians, and the wealthy race of Lydia.

But then shall come the Greeks, proud and profane people; then that other people, the Macedonian, great and diverse, who shall come upon men as a dread cloud of war; but the God of heaven shall utterly root them out.

But then there shall be the beginning of another empire from the western sea, white and many-headed, which shall rule over wide lands, and overthrow many and make all kings to fear thereafter, and ravish much gold and silver out of many cities; but yet again there shall be gold in the fair earth, and therewith silver and precious things: and they shall vex mankind. But great shall be the fall of those men, when they fall to pride and unrighteousness. Straightway they shall be driven into impious doings: men with men shall have intercourse, and they will put boys for hire in houses of shame; and in those days there shall be great tribulation among men, and it shall bring all to confusion and disorder, filling the world with evils, through base-

—Titans, Egypt, Persia, etc., Macedonia, Egypt, Rome; then in 167 ff.—House of Solomon, Phœnicians, etc., Lydia, Hellas, Macedonia, Rome; and again in 199—Titans, Hellas, Persia, etc., Israel. After this comes (218–294) a fairly continuous prophecy of Israel, its origin, character, exile, restoration, and Messianic King.

176. *many-headed:* i. e. a republic.

178. Cf. the account of the Roman power in 1 Macc. viii. 2–4.

185 f. While the body of this passage, and especially ll. 194–5, seems to reflect the feeling of 1 Macc. viii., and may belong to the same period, the accusation of l. 185 must be far later: it has many parallels in the Christian apologists (Just. *Apol.* i. 27, Athenag. *Leg.* 34, Tatian, *Or.* 28, etc.), but was not true of Rome in the Maccabean period.

living love of gain, through wealth ill-gotten, and that in many lands, but in Macedonia most of all. It shall stir up hatred, and guile of all kinds shall be found among them [down to the seventh king's reign, the reign of a king of Egypt, a Greek by birth].

Then shall the people of the great God once more be strong, they who are to be the guides of life to all mankind.

But what is this that God has put in my mind to utter, even the first, the next, and the last calamity that shall fall upon mankind, and the beginning of these things?

First shall God bring calamity upon the Titans; for they shall receive punishment at the hands of the sons of mighty Kronos, for that they bound Kronos and the lawful mother of his children. Next shall tyrants rule over Greece, and lawless kings, proud and unholy, breakers of wedlock and wholly evil; then shall men have no more rest from war. The terrible Phrygians shall all perish, and evil shall come upon Troy in that day. Thereafter shall evil come to the Persians and Assyrians and all Egypt and Libya, upon the Ethiopians, on the Carians and Pamphylians † a ruin of exile, and to all men alike. Why declare these things one by one?

190. Here we appear to return to the second century B.C., the reference being to the battle of Pydna, 168 B.C., which brought to an end the empire of Alexander the Great; but 182-9 appears to be clumsily interpolated.

195. Cf. Ath. *de Inc.* xii.: "the prophets . . . were for all the world a holy school of the knowledge of God and the conduct of the soul"; and Philo. *Vit. Mos.* ii. 4: "the law attracts and converts all men, Greeks and barbarians . . . the whole inhabited world from one end to the other."

211–294. *The Jewish people, their character and history, down to the return from exile.*

As soon as the first woe shall come to an end, the next shall come upon men. Yet will I declare the first things—evil shall come upon the god-fearing who dwell around the great temple of Solomon and are the offspring of righteous fathers. Yet will I declare the tribes of these men, and the generation of their fathers, and their people, circumspectly, thou man of many wiles and crafty mind.

There is on earth a city, Ur of the Chaldees, from which springs a race of upright men, ever given to wise counsel and good works. For they busy themselves not with the circling course of the sun, or the moon, nor with monstrous things below the earth, nor with the depth of the sparkling sea of Ocean, nor the signs of birds and winged fowls, nor with diviners nor sorcerers nor enchanters, nor with the deceitful follies of ventriloquists, nor do they predict by the stars as do the Chaldæans, nor consult the heavenly bodies; for all those things are deceitful, all that foolish men search out day after day, exercising their minds in toil which has no profit: and they have taught lessons of shame

218. *A city*. The MSS. have a lacuna in this line: ἐστι πόλις . . . κατὰ χθονὸς Οὖρ Χαλδαίων. The missing word is "Camarina." The Jewish historian Eupolemus (in Eus., *Præp. Ev.* IX. 17. 3) said that Abraham was born in the tenth (or thirteenth) generation after the fall of the tower of Babel, in the Babylonian city Camarina, called also Urie; and that he was the inventor of astrology and Chaldæan science. It would seem that 217–233 is an attack on this tradition, based on scriptural grounds (Deut. xviii. 10, Isaiah xlvii. 13, etc.).

223. *sparkling*. Χαστόλο. This uncommon word is a literary link between Ur. Sib., Sophocles, and the Jewish Orphic verses.

234–246. For this list of virtues, cf. Sib. II. 56 ff., and Bousset *R. J.* 399 f.

and error to men, wherefrom many evils visit men upon the earth, to cause them to err from good ways and righteous works. But these take thought for uprightness and goodness, not for love of gain, which brings forth countless evils among mortal men, war and famine without end. They keep just measure in town and country, they go not a-stealing from one another by night, nor drive off herds of oxen, sheep and goats, nor does neighbour remove neighbour's landmark, nor a wealthy man oppress a poorer, nor deal harshly with the widow, but rather helps her with supplies of corn and wine and oil. Ever does he that has abundance among the people give a portion of his harvest to them that have nothing and are in poverty, fulfilling the command of the great God, the oracle of the law: for the Lord of heaven made the earth to be possessed by all in common.

But when the people of the twelve tribes shall leave Egypt, and go out on its way led by men divinely sent, led on their journey by night by a pillar of fire, and by a pillar of cloud all the hours of the day, over them He will set a great man as leader, even Moses, whom a princess found and took from a reed-bed, and brought him up and called him her son. And when he came leading the people which God brought from Egypt to the sheer mountain of Sinai, God gave them His law from heaven, writing all the ordinances of righteousness on two tables, and bade them to keep them; and if one should disobey, he should suffer the penalty of the law

235. Cf. 1 Tim. vi. 10, and Bernard's note, in Comb. Ch. Test. The sentiment comes from the common stock of Hellenistic moralizing

247. *In common:* A Stoical principle adopted by Jewish teachers which afterwards (partly through the influence of Cicero) found wide acceptance and constant expression in Christian ethical writers; cf. *e.g.* Ambrose *in Ps.* cviii. 8, Dominus Deus noster terram hanc possessionem omnium hominum voluit esse communem: see A. J. and W. W. Carlyle, *Medieval Political Theory*, ch. xii.

either at the hands of men, or escaping men's judgement should most justly perish. . . .

For them only the grain-bearing earth brings her full harvest a hundred-fold, fulfilling the measure of God. But upon them too shall evil fall, nor shall they escape pestilence. And thou also shalt go into exile, and leave the fair temple-court, for it is thy fate to leave the holy ground. And thou shalt be taken away to the Assyrians, and see thy little children and thy wives enslaved among thine enemies; all thy livelihood and wealth shall be destroyed: and all the earth shall be filled with thee, and all the sea: every man shall hold thy ordinances in hatred: and all thy land shall be desolate, and the builded altar and the temple of the great God and the long walls shall all fall to the ground, because thou didst not set thy mind to obey the holy law of immortal God, but didst err and serve shapeless idols, and wouldst not honour the God of all mankind, nor fear the immortal Father of gods and of all men, but didst honour images, the work of men. Wherefore thy fruitful land shall be desolate, and the wonders of the temple, for seven times ten years. Yet a good end awaits thee, and great glory, as immortal God hath decreed for thee; but wait thou, and trust the holy law of the great God, until he lift up and make straight thy knees that are weary, unto the light. And then shall God send a king from heaven (or, the God of heaven shall send a king) and shall judge

276 ff. Cf. Jerem. v. 19, etc.

280. Cf. Jerem. xxv. 12.

286–7. On this passage see Introd. p. 31. In the king divinely sent to end the exile one would expect to find a reference to Cyrus; but here we have an eschatological figure instead.

287. *blood and . . . fire.* Cf. Isaiah lxvi. 15–16, Ezek. xxxviii. 22.

288–9. Cf. Gen. xlix. 8 f.

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every man in blood and blazing fire. But there is a royal tribe whose seed shall not stumble, and it shall reign as time follows time, and shall begin to raise up the temple of God anew. And all the kings of the Persians shall lend their aid, with brass and gold and wrought iron. For God himself shall send a holy dream by night, and then shall the temple be restored again as it was.

295 333. *Jewish oracles on Babylon, Egypt, Gog and Magog, and Libya.*

When my soul ceased from the hymn inspired, then I besought the great father that I might rest from my labour; but again the voice of the great God rose up in my breast, and bade me prophesy over every land, and to kings, and to instruct them of things which should come to pass.

And this first did God put in my mind to say, even all the distressful woes which the Immortal had devised against Babylon, because she laid waste his great temple.

Woe to thee, Babylon, and to you, ye men of Assyria: a rushing sound shall come one day upon all the land of sinners, and a shout of battle shall destroy all the land of men, even a stroke from the hand of great God, who putteth songs in our mouth.

For from above He shall come upon thee, O Babylon, riding on the air [yea, from heaven He shall descend

291. Cf. Ezr. vii. 15 f.
293. Cf. perhaps 1 Esdr. iii. 13 ff., LXX.
303 ff. Cf. Isaiah xiii. 4 ff., xlvii. 1 ff.
307. Cf. Isaiah xiii. 5, LXX.

upon thee from the Holy place], and eternal destruction upon the children of wrath.† And then shalt thou be as thou wert before, as one that has never been; and then shalt thou be filled with blood, as once thou didst shed the blood of the good and upright and holy, whose blood even now cries to high heaven.

Upon thee, O Egypt, a great blow shall fall and a terrible, upon thy house, such as thou never thoughtest should come upon thee. For a sword shall pass through the midst of thee, dispersion and death and famine shall rest on thee in the seventh generation of thy kings, and then shalt thou have rest.

Woe to thee, land of Gog and Magog, in the midst of the rivers of Ethiopia: what a stream of blood shall flow out upon thee, and thou shalt be called among men the house of judgement, and thy land shall drink and be drenched with red blood.

Woe to thee, Libya; woe, sea and land: daughters of the West, to how bitter a day shall ye come! and ye shall come under the pursuing of a grievous con-

310. Cf. Isaiah xiii. 19, Apoc. Bar. xxxi. 5.

314–18. The reference is apparently, as in 608–615 infr., to the invasion of Egypt by Antiochus Epiphanes in the time of Ptolemy Physkon (Euergetes II., 146 B.C.), and the passage thus will belong to the earliest Jewish stratum of the book.

319. *Gog and Magog.* The prophecies of Ezek. xxxviii.–xxxix., in which Gog of the land of Magog is a mighty adversary who will be raised up against Israel in the latter years and will then be utterly destroyed, exercised a strong influence upon Jewish eschatological conceptions. Here and 512 infr. Gog and Magog are the adversary whose annihilation must precede the Messianic age; cf. Rev. xx. 7 f., 1 Enoch 56, 2 Baruch 70. 7–10: also Num. xxiv. (LXX.). For the influence of this idea in later Judaism see Bousset, *R. J.* 206 f., *Antichrist*, Index.

The identification of Gog and Magog with Ethiopia (and not with northern peoples as in Ezek. xxxix. 2) accords with V. 505 f., where the coming of the last things follows on an Ethiopian invasion, but is not found elsewhere.

flict, hard and terrible: a dread judgement shall there be once more, and ye shall all be driven to destruction, for that ye laid waste the holy house of the Immortal, and gnawed it grievously with teeth of iron. Therefore shalt thou see thy land full of dead bodies, slain by war, by every onset of God, by famine and pestilence, and by foes of savage heart (*or* of strange speech) and all thy land shall be desolate, and the fortress of thy city (*or*, and thy cities forsaken).

334–336. *An oracle of* 44 B.C. (?).

But in the West a star shall shine, which men will call the long-haired star, a sign of the sword, of famine and death to men, of the slaughter† of great captains and men of renown.

337–355. *Hellenic oracles.*

And yet again there shall be great signs among men; for deep-eddying Tanais shall fail from the lake Maeotis, and down the deep stream-bed shall go the furrow of a fruitful field, and the river shall stay its many branches. Chasms and yawning gulfs shall break open; many cities shall fall in ruins with all their people: in Asia, Iassus, Kebren, Pandonia,† Colophon, Ephesus, Nicæa, Antioch,

328. *the holy house:* i. e. a temple in Egypt, not that at Jerusalem; cf. V. 507.

334–6. This prediction corresponds with the circumstances of B.C. 44, and may have been suggested by them; in that year, after the death of Julius Cæsar, the young Octavian celebrated games to Venus Victrix, in commemoration of the victory of Pharsalus: during the games a comet of exceptional brightness was visible for seven days, and was believed to be the soul of Cæsar. Suetonius, *Julius* 88, Plin. *Nat. Hist.* II. 94.

338–349. The names given do not tally with the records of any known disaster, such as that mentioned in Tac. *Ann.* II. 47; yet it is possible that the writer has grouped with the cities actually visited by some definite calamity others known to have been so affected at some time. The passage defies clear explanation.

Syagra, Sinope, Smyrna, Myrine,† Gaza with all its wealth,
Hierapolis, Astypalæa; and in Europe Cyagra† renowned,
†royal Meropeia, Antigone, Magnesia, †divine Mycene.
Know thou then that the doomed race of Egypt is near
its ruin, and then shall they of Alexandria wish that this
year was as last.

For all the wealth that Rome took from tributary Asia,
three times as much shall Asia take from Rome, re-
quiting upon her her cursed arrogance: and for all the
men who were taken from Asia to go and dwell in Italy,
twenty times so many men of Italy shall serve in Asia
as penniless slaves, and a thousand-fold shall be the
requital.

356–380. *Jewish oracles against Rome.*

Daughter of Latin Rome, clothed in gold and luxury,
drunken full oft with thy wedding of many wooers, thou
shalt be a slave-bride in dishonour, and oft shall thy
mistress cut off thy flowing hair, and do justice on thee
and cast thee down from heaven to earth, and yet
again lift thee from earth to heaven, because men gave
themselves to evil and unrighteous living.

And Samos shall become a sand, Dèlos be deleted,
and Rome a mere alley; and all that is foretold shall be

350–5. From the Mithridatic war of 88 B.C.; a brief allusion to the same period is to be found in IV. 145–8.

356–62. If this oracle against Rome is a continuation of the preceding lines, it must owe 362 at least to a Jewish reviser; the moral reason for the downfall of Rome is by no means in the spirit of 350–5.

363 f. Old Hellenic material has been used here: cf. IV. 91 f. Geffck. quotes Callimachus, *Hymns* IV. 53 for Δῆλος ἄδηλος. The jingle about Samos seems to have no assignable meaning; but if the lines come from the time of the Mithridatic war it is worth

fulfilled; but none shall take account of the ruin of Smyrna. There shall be an avenger,† but through evil counsels and the cowardice of her captains . . . and calm peace shall make her way to the land of Asia: and Europe then shall be blessed, the air fruitful year after year, healthy, without frost and hail, bringing forth beasts and birds and creeping things of the earth. Blessed shall the man and woman be who lives to see that time,† as are they who dwell in the isles of the blest; †for law and justice shall come from the starry heaven upon men, and with them wise concord, best of all gifts for mortals, and love and faith and hospitable ways; but lawlessness, blame, envy, anger and madness shall depart. Poverty and penury shall flee from men in those days, with murder and accursed strife and grievous wrangling, theft by night and every ill.

381–387. *An oracle on Alexander.*

But Macedonia shall bring forth a grievous bane for Asia, and for Europe a great woe mature its fruit, from

noticing that Delos was laid waste by the sea-forces of Mithridates in 89 B.C. In 364 καὶ Ῥώμη ῥύμη is modelled on the assonances of 363. Tertullian (*De Pallio* 2) quotes the line as a fulfilled prophecy: "inter insulas nulla iam Delos, harenæ Samos, et Sibylla non mendax."

367 ff. The prophecy of peace upon Asia may belong to what precedes it, but the passage, from 371 onwards, has a Jewish or Christian rather than a Hellenic cast; cf. 619–23 infr.

372. Cf. IV. 192. But the text (κενεήφατος ὅσσον ἄγραυλος) is very corrupt. Geffcken suggests an elaborately ingenious conjecture, which would make the line definitely Christian—μακάρων κὲν ἔῃ φάτις ὡς ἐν ἀγραύλοις—"it would be tidings of the blessed ones, as among the shepherds."

381–7. An oracle on Alexander the Great: possibly from the Persian Sibyl. In Nicanor's *Life of Alexander*, quoted from Varro by Lactantius (*Inst.* I. 6, 8), it was stated that this Sibyl foretold the career of Alexander—in no favourable terms, as it may be supposed. On the other hand, the Erythræan Sibyl acknowledged the divinity of Alexander.

the sons of Kronos, a race of bastards and slaves. That race shall subdue the strong-built city of Babylon, and having been called mistress of every land which the sun looks on shall perish by an evil fate, and shall leave a name only to descendants scattered far and wide.

388–400. *On Antiochus Epiphanes* (?).

And to the happy shore of Asia shall come a man unheard of before,† having a purple robe cast about his

388–400. There are two textual difficulties which make it hard to provide any satisfactory interpretation here. (*a*) In 397 the MSS. have *παρὰ δὴ* (*δὲ*) *φύτον ἄλλο φυτεύσει*; but in XI. 251, where parts of the passage reappear, the reading is *πρὶν δὴ κτλ.* (*b*) In 399 *καὐτὸς ὑφ' υἱῶν ὢν ἐς ὁμόφρονα αἴσιον ἄρρης* is hopeless. Geffck. suggests *ὑφ' υἱωνῶν ἐν ὁμοφροσύνῃσιν Ἄρηος.*

Three lines of interpretation may be mentioned—(1) Hilgenfeld took the "man" of l. 389 to be Antiochus Epiphanes, who put an end to the family of his brother Seleucus IV.: while a son of Seleucus, Demetrius, killed Antiochus V., Eupator, the only descendant of Ant. Epiphanes. The "other shoot" of 397 (following the reading of the MSS.) is Alexander Balas; the "warlike sire" of 398 is Demetrius I.; the "sons" who make an end of Alex. Balas are Demetrius II. and Antiochus Sidetes, and the "parasite horn" of 400 is the usurper Tryphon. The difficulties in this theory are that it requires the *φύτον* of 397 to become the subject of *κόψει* in the following line; and that Antiochus Sidetes had, in fact, nothing to do with the downfall of Balas. (2) Geffcken's solution (making the two textual changes mentioned above) connects the passage with Antiochus Cyzicenus and his struggles against his half-brother Grypos and Grypos' sons. Cyzicenus would fain destroy the family of one whose sons are destined to destroy his own. He puts out one shoot, Antiochus Eusebes, whom Philip the descendant of ten kings, strikes down before another is planted; and though he strikes down Grypos, he himself is the victim of Grypos' nephews.

Here, again, two obstacles are met with; for Cyzicenus, in fact, fell in battle against the Parthians: and, as Geffcken admits, *υἱωνός* does not mean "nephew" but "grandson."

Thus neither (1) nor (2) can claim to be a consistent solution of the difficulty. As far as l. 398 goes (a man unheard of before), one might think of Demetrius I., Antiochus Cyzicenus, or Antiochus Epiphanes with equal appropriateness, for each of these made a dramatic and sudden appearance in Asia; but it may be doubted whether any other Seleucid than Antiochus Epiphanes can be

shoulders, fierce, strange in judgement, fiery; the thunder was his sire: and all Asia shall pass under the yoke of oppression, and the earth shall drink and be drenched with streams of blood. Yet even so shall he pass utterly out of knowledge, and death shall have him in charge; and they whose children he would fain destroy, by their children shall his line be destroyed; putting out one root, which the Slayer of men shall cut off, from among ten heads, before it genders another shoot: he shall cut off the warlike sire of the race bred in the purple, and perish himself at the hands of his grandsons. † joined in a compact of war †; and then a horn, an off-shoot, shall reign.

401–488. *Miscellaneous Hellenic Oracles.*

To fruitful Phrygia also shall a sign be given, when the foul race of Rhea, an ever-flowing wave, springing from roots in the earth never waterless, is utterly abolished in one night, in the city of Poseidon the earth-shaker, and with all its men, the city which they shall call Dorylæum

intended by ll. 388-391. The three epithets in 390 (the last half of the line, one may admit, is incomprehensible) can all be illustrated from 1 Macc. i.; and since the whole passage is partly based on Dan. vii. ff., which refers to the reign of Epiphanes, one might surmise that it is a picture, though an inaccurate one, of the same period. While, then, in its present obscure and corrupt form, it may well be considerably later than 175–164 B.C., it still belongs, in all probability, to the earliest Jewish stratum of the book.

(3) Bousset (in *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, III., 1902, pp. 23 ff.) would partly support the above, holding that the passage was misunderstood and altered by the Jewish Sibyllist so as to make it applicable to a Seleucid king. But he believes that all the material comes from the Chaldæan (= Persian) Sibyl, and that in its original form it referred to Alexander the Great. He points out that "lightning gave him birth," Asia suffered a yoke, "the earth drank blood when he came"; and identifies the "one root" of 396 with the son of Alexander and Roxane.

401–413. On Phrygia: obscure and impossible to translate.

by name, in ancient Phrygia, that dark and lamentable land. Until that time he who is called earth-shaker shall break open the store-houses of the earth and destroy fenced cities. But the signs shall be the beginning of evil and not of good. †Thou(?) shall have for kings men skilled in war of nations, offspring of Æneas, native sons of Ilium.† But thereafter thou shalt be a prey to men that are (thy) lovers.

Ilium, I pity thee; for in Sparta an avenging fury shall grow up, a fair and goodly shoot of renown, to bring a spreading wave of ruin upon Europe and Asia: but to thee above all shall she bring lamentation, sorrow and groaning as thy portion; and the fame of it shall not grow old among men that are yet to be.

And an old man shall there be, a writer of falsehood, false to his country; his eyes shall be sightless; he will have a cunning mind, and words well fitting his thoughts (or, rhythm of verse to clothe his thoughts) blended of two names; he shall call himself a man of Chios, and shall write the tale of Ilium, not truly, but with cunning,

407. *Dark* (κελαινῆς): according to Wilamowitz this is an ancient oracle on Celænæ, transferred by the interpolation of l. 406 to Dorylæum.

414–428. That the Erythræan Sibyl (or the Delphic) was earlier than or contemporary with the Trojan war, that she foretold it, and that Homer borrowed unscrupulously from her prophecies, was widely believed in antiquity. These lines appear to be the basis of the tradition. For the references in Varro, Pausanias, etc., see Alexandre, II. 12 f, and App. to Exc. I.

412. There is a trace here of the tradition that Æneas and his descendants reigned in the Troad down to Homeric times: cf. Hom. *Il.* 307 f. (νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείαο βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει καὶ παίδων παῖδες κτλ), and Hdt. V. 122.

414. *a fury*, i.e. Helen: cf. Æsch. *Ag.* 749; Eur. *Or.* 1390 Verg. *Æn.* ii. 573; Troiæ et patriæ Communis Erinys.

422. *two names*, i.e. *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

for he shall take my words and measures for his use, and be the first to open and handle my books. He shall bravely deck out the armed men of war, Hector son of Priam, Achilles son of Peleus, and the rest whose care is for the works of warfare. He will make the gods come to their aid, picturing them most falsely as witless mortals. And to them death at Ilium shall bring the greater fame: but he shall reap the reward of his own works.

And for Lycia the race of Locrus shall breed much ill. Thee, Chalcedon, who holdest the passage of the narrow strait, shall a child of Ætolia devastate at his coming.

Cyzicus, from thee the sea shall break off the weight of thy wealth; thou, Byzantium, shalt choose to make war in Asia†; truly groaning and endless blood shall be thy portion.

From thy peaks, Kragos, high mountain of Lycia, water shall gush out, when thy rocks split asunder, until it put an end to the oracular signs of Patara.

Cyzicus, dweller on vine-clad Propontis, Rhyndacus shall dash his stream about thee in a swelling wave.

And thou, Rhodes, for long shalt thou keep thy freedom, thou short-lived daughter, and much wealth shall be thine hereafter, and in the sea thou shalt have power beyond others: yet thereafter shalt thou be a prey to men that are thy lovers, with thy wealth and beauty, and a heavy yoke shalt thou have set upon thy neck.

432. *reap*: Wilamowitz' conclusive emendation δέξεται for MSS. λέξεται.

444 ff. A clue to these lines may perhaps be looked for in the events of 169 B.C. The Rhodians, after a century and a half of friendship with Rome, and a period of high commercial prosperity, were misled into siding against Rome in the middle of the war with Perseus; and for this they were visited with crushing penalties at the end of the war.

449. This line must refer to the Ionian revolt of 499 B.C., which

A Lydian earthquake shall destroy the land of Persia, and bring horrible woes upon Europe and Asia.† The murderous king of Sidon, and the war-cry of strange seafarers, shall fall on the Samians, and they shall come to a fatal doom. The ground shall run with blood of the slain down to the sea; wives with their fair-robed daughters shall bewail their dishonour and shame, these weeping for their † fathers, these for their sons.

A sign upon Cyprus; an earthquake shaking the troops in array, and many souls at once shall Hades receive.

Tralles the neighbour of Ephesus — an earthquake shall destroy both the well-built walls and the wealth of a troubled people; the earth shall spout up water boiling hot; the groaning earth shall swallow them down, with a smell of brimstone.

Samos too on a time shall build a royal palace.

Upon thee, Italy, no warfare of foreign foes shall come, but civil bloodshed lamentable and of long continuance shall ravish thee, thou famous land, for thy shamelessness. And thou, stretched prone among the burning ashes, shalt slay thyself, in thy improvident heart. Thou shalt be no mother of good men, but a nurse of wild beasts.

But when from Italy shall come a man of destruction, then thou, Laodicea, fair city of the Carians, by the

began with the taking of Sardis, and was the prelude to the great struggle between Hellas and Persia. The following lines defy interpretation.

464 ff. *civil bloodshed:* i. e. in the Social War, 91–89 B.C., or in the Sullan troubles.

470. The "man of destruction" may be Sulla, and the time that of the Mithridatic war. Laodicea was often damaged by earthquakes: cf., IV. 107, V. 290; for references, and for the description of Laodicea as a Carian city, see Lightfoot, *Colossians* 38 note, 18 note. The "father" of the city is Zeus, the tutelary deity of the place, from whom its earlier name of Diospolis had been taken.

wondrous water of Lycus, shalt fall headlong and lament in silence thy proud-vaunting father.

And the Thracian Krobyzi shall rise up on Hæmus.

The Campanians shall gnash their teeth for the famine that ravages their city, and for many a year (shall they lament their father).

Corsica and Sardinia shall be sunk below the depths of the sea by great blasts of storm-winds, by the smiting of the holy god, a great wonder † for the children of the sea. Ah, for how many maidens shall death be their bridal, how many youths unburied shall toss in the deep: ah, for little children and great wealth, washed away by the sea!

Thou happy land of Mysia, thy royal house shall suddenly † pass away; yet for no long time shall Carthage (? Chalcedon) endure. Lamentable woe shall befall the Galatians: to Tenedos the last of ills, but the greatest shall come.

Sicyon with brazen trumpetings shall boast her loudest over thee, Corinth; but the flute shall give back the same note in answer.

Now when my soul had ceased from the hymn inspired, then again did the voice of the great God rise in my breast, bidding me prophesy over the earth.

Woe to the people of Phœnicia, men and women, and to all the cities of the coast: not one of you shall

483. The "royal House of Mysia" came to an end in 133 B.C., when the Romans took over the kingdom, which Attalus III. had bequeathed to them.

487–8. An obscure reference to events connected with the downfall of Corinth in 146 B.C. In that year the Corinthian territory was put under Sicyon. The end of 488 is inexplicable, but has a flavour of antiquity.

492–503. A Jewish oracle against Phœnicia, in the spirit of Isaiah xxiii., Jer. xlvii., Ezek. xxvi–xxviii.; possibly reflecting the anti-

remain in the light of the sun, the common day, nor shall any be numbered among the living, nor any tribe survive, by reason of their unrighteous speech, their lawless and unholy life, which they all led, opening unholy lips; and dreadful words, false and wicked did they spread abroad, and stood up against the great king, even God, and opened their mouths foully to speak falsehood. Therefore He shall bring them down with awful visitations over all the earth, and shall send them a bitter doom, burning their cities and their foundations down to the ground.

Woe to thee, Crete, isle of sorrows: a blow shall fall on thee and a dread eternal destruction, and the whole earth shall see thy smoke going up; fire shall not cease from thee for ever, but thou shalt be burnt.

Woe to thee, Thrace: thou shalt bear the yoke of slavery, when the Galatians joined to the men of Dardania shall ravage Hellas in their onset: then it shall go ill with thee: thou shall give † to a foreign land and take nothing.

Woe to thee, Gog, and to all the people of Magog thereafter . . . † for all the evil that Fate brings upon thee from Mardians and Drangians † and much evil to the children of Lycia, Mysia, and Phrygia; many tribes of Pamphylians, Lydians, Morians,† Ethiopians, and barbarous peoples, Cappadocians and Arabians shall fall; why tell of each thing in order? for to all nations that

Philistine sentiment of the Maccabean period, and (502 f.) such episodes as the burning of Azotus and Gaza by Jonathan (1 Macc. x. 84, xi. 61).

508 ff. Referred by Geffck. to a war waged by Eumenes of Pergamum against Macedonia with the aid of Gaulish auxiliaries in 168 B.C.

513. Geffck. thus amends the unintelligible μάρσων ἠδ' ἄγγων (δάγων) of the MSS. Mardians and Drangians were both Persian tribes.

dwell on the earth shall the most High send a dread stroke of calamity.

520–572. *The misery of Hellas under Roman domination.*

But when once more a barbarian host comes against Hellas, it shall destroy many chosen men; and many fat flocks shall they ravage, herds of horses, mules and lowing oxen; strongly-built houses will they burn with fire without scruple, and many will they carry away as slaves to a strange land, children and deep-girdled women, tender ones taken from their chambers, who before walked (or, could scarce stand) on delicate feet; they shall see them bound and suffering utmost shame at the hands of barbarous foes, nor shall there be any to aid them in the stress of war, and to rescue them alive. They shall see the enemy making a spoil of their goods and all their wealth: their knees shall tremble. A hundred shall flee, and one shall slay the hundred; five shall stir up heavy wrath; and they that join against them in shameful war and dread din of battle shall bring joy to the foe but sorrow to Hellas.

The yoke of slavery shall be on the neck of all Hellas: and on all men together war and pestilence shall be laid: and God shall make the whole heaven as brass above, and send drought upon the whole earth, and it shall be as iron. Then will men all lament sore for the failure of seed-time and ploughing; and He who

520 ff. Whether all this refers to the Achæan war, and the sack of Corinth in 146 B.C., or to the horrors of Sulla's campaigns in Greece, it is impossible to determine.

527. *on delicate feet:* cf. Deut. xxviii. 56.

533. Cf. Isaiah xxx. 17, Deut. xxxii. 30.

539. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 23, 24; IV. (II.) Esdr. vi. 22, also 647 infr., V. 276.

made heaven and earth shall kindle grievous fire upon earth,† and but the third part of all mankind shall be left.

O Hellas, why trustest thou for leadership in mortal men, who cannot escape the end of death? Why dost thou offer vain gifts to the dead, and do sacrifice to idols? Who put this error in thy heart, to do these things and to forsake the face of the great God? Revere the name of the Father of all, and forget it not. A thousand years and five hundred more have passed since proud kings began to reign over Hellas, who led men in the first steps of evil, setting up many idols of dead gods, whereby ye were led to think vain thoughts. But when the wrath of the great God falls upon you, then shall ye know the face of the great God, and all souls of men, deeply wailing, holding up their hands to the broad heaven, shall begin to call upon the great King as their helper, and to seek who shall save them from the great wrath.

Come, learn this and have it in mind, all the woes that shall come as year follows year . . . †and when thou offerest herds of oxen and lowing bulls at the temple of the great God, making a whole burnt-offering,

544. Cf. Zech. xiii. 8.

551. In 822 ff. the Sibyl is contemporary with the flood; the writer of this passage dates himself as living 1500 years after the invention of idolatry in Hellas by its kings. If this means 1500 years after Cecrops, this brings him down to about 100 B.C.

557. *the wrath:* Isaiah xiii. 9.

558. Cf. Rev. i. 7 f.

564 ff. This passage, taken together with 616 ff., 624 ff., 716 ff., represents a hope for the conversion of the heathen which has not many parallels in apocalyptic literature. It goes beyond the conception of the nations, as vassals, bringing tribute to the temple (Isaiah, lx., Zech. xiv. 16, Ps. Sol. xvii. 31). But cf. Tobit xiii. 11, xiv. 6, Enoch 90. 33 ff., 48. 4, 5, Apoc. Abr. 29: and contrast *Sib.* V. 364.

then thou shalt escape from the noise of war, from fear and pestilence, and be free once more from the yoke of slavery. But the race of godless men shall continue, until the time when this destined day is accomplished. For ye will not sacrifice to God till all come to pass, all that God shall determine, which shall not fail of fulfilment: strong necessity shall be upon you.

Thereafter shall there be a holy race of god-fearing men, paying heed to the counsel and mind of the most High, who will pay honour to the temple of the great God, with the fat and savour of holy hecatombs, with sacrifices of fat bulls and rams without blemish, the first-born of sheep and fat flocks of lambs making holy oblations upon the great altar. And having their portion in the righteousness of the law of the most High they shall inhabit in well-being their houses and fruitful fields, with prophets raised up for them by the most High, bringing great joy to all people. For to them alone the high God gave wise counsel and faith and an excellent wisdom of heart: who use not vain deceit, nor give honour to the works of men that fashion images of gold, brass, silver, ivory, wood and stone, things of clay smeared with vermilion, painted in the fashion of a likeness such as mortals make in the vanity of their mind; but they lift up to heaven holy hands, rising early from their beds to hallow their hands with water, and they honour the immortal eternal Ruler alone, and after

591. *Lifting up holy hands*. cf. Ps. cxxxiv. 3, 1 Tim. ii. 8, and Bernard's note in Camb. Gk. Test., which gives the parallel from Philo *de Hum.*, 2, τὰς καθαρὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀναπέτας.

592. For the insistence on ceremoniai washing, which is Pharisaic in character rather than Essene, cf. IV. 165, where, however, the reference is to the baptism of proselytes. With this line one may compare Tertullian's bitter saying (*De Bapt.* xv. cf. *De Orat.* xi.): Israel Iudæus quotidie lavat quia quotidie inquinatur.

Him their father and mother; moreover above all men they are mindful to keep the bed undefiled; they have no unholy intercourse with boys, as do the Phœnicians, Egyptians, the Latins and wide Hellas and many nations besides, the Persians, Galatians and them of all Asia, transgressing the holy law of the immortal God, which He gave.† Wherefore the Immortal shall appoint for all men sorrow and famine and lamentations and woe, war and pestilence and misery with weeping, for that they would not honour in sanctity the immortal Father of all men, but gave honour and worship to idols the work of men's hands, which men themselves shall cast away, hiding them for shame in the clefts of the rocks, in the day when a young king rules in Egypt, counted seventh in succession from the rule of the Greeks, which the Macedonians that mighty people shall bear; and there shall come from Asia a great king, a bright eagle, who shall overshadow all the land with footmen and horse, and break up all in ruin and fill it with evils, and shall cast down the kingdom of Egypt; and taking away all its goods shall ride upon the broad waves of the sea. Then shall they bend the naked knee to God the great king immortal on the fruitful earth, and all the works of men's hands shall fall in the flame of fire. And then

601. For the connection of unnatural vice, idolatry, and subsequent punishment, cf. Rom. ii 24 ff.

606. Cf. Isaiah ii. 18 (LXX).

608. The seventh king (from Ptolemy son of Lagus) is Ptolemy Philometor, 181–146 B.C.

611. The "great king" is Antiochus Epiphanes, who invaded Egypt and deposed Ptolemy Philometor in 170 B.C.

616 f. Cf. 564 above.

619 ff. Cf. 368 ff., 659 ff., 744 ff., IV. 45–6, 187, Enoch 10. 18 ff., Apoc. Bar. 29. 5–7, Philo de Præm. et Pœn. 16. 20; for sources in O.T., *e.g.* Deut. vii. 13, Isaiah xi. 6 ff., lxv. 21 ff., Joel ii. 22, and for Rabbinical references, Bousset, *R. J.* 227 note. The Messianic period is here conceived as an age of peace and plenty on

shall God give great joy to men; for the earth, the trees, and the full flocks of sheep shall give their proper fruit for men, wine and honey and white milk, and corn which is the best of all gifts to mortals.

But thou, O man of many counsels, make no slow delay, but turn again and make propitiation to God; sacrifice to Him hundreds of bulls and lambs first-born, and of goats, as the seasons go round; propitiate Him, the immortal God, if haply He may have mercy: for He is God alone, and there is no other. Honour righteousness and deal oppressively with no man; for this the ever-living commands to wretched mortals. But be thou ware of the wrath of the great God, when the end, even pestilence, comes to all mankind, and they are brought low under the terror of judgement; and one king shall take another and take away his land, and nation shall lay nation waste, and tyrants the people, and the captains shall all flee into another land, and the world of men shall be changed, and a foreign rule shall lay waste all Hellas and drain the fruitful land of wealth, and they shall come to strife one with another for gold and silver —love of gain shall be the evil shepherd of the cities— in a strange land; and all shall be unburied, and the flesh of some shall vultures rend, and wild beasts of the field; when this is come to pass, the terrible earth shall swallow the remnants of the dead; it shall all be unploughed, and unsown, proclaiming in its misery the

the earth *as it is*: so in Eth. Enoch I. 36. Similar versions of temporal felicity recur in such Chiliastic pictures as that of Papias (ap. Iren. V. 33), as also in Verg. *Ecl.* IV. 28–30.

629. Cf. Deut. iv. 35, Isaiah xlv. 5.

636. Cf. Apoc. Bar. 70. 3, IV. (II.) Esdr. vi. 24, etc. Mk. xiii. 8.

643–5. Cf. Ezek. xxxix. 4.

647. *unsown*: cf. on 539 supr.

pollution with which thousands are defiled . . . for many seasons of revolving years bringing forth spears and shields, javelins and all manner of weapon: nor shall wood for bright fire be cut from the thicket.

And then shall God send from the sun a king, who shall make all the earth cease from ruinous war, killing some, and with some making a sure agreement. Nor shall he do all this by his own counsel, but in obedience to the ordinances of the high God . . . and the temple of the high God shall be loaded with rich adornment, with gold and silver and furniture of purple; and the fruitful earth and sea shall abound in good things. And kings shall begin to have wrath one against another, harbouring revengeful thoughts. No good thing is envy to hapless mortals. But again shall kings of the Gentiles make onset together against this land, bringing doom upon themselves; for they shall seek to lay waste the temple of the great God, and upright men, when they reach this land. Accursed kings will set each his throne around the city, and with each will be his infidel people. Then

649. There is a gap before this line, which refers to the duration of the Messianic age; it appears to be temporal here and 728, 755–6, but not clearly so in 785 ff.: in 767 it is to last "for ages."

649–51. a paraphrase of Ezek. xxxix. 9 f.; cf. V. 728 ff.

652 ff. The Warrior-Messiah who makes an end of war: cf. Apoc. Bar. 36–40, 53–74. For Pagan parallels, and especially the Priene inscription (Augustus as saviour and peace-maker), Bousset, *R. J.* 212.

655. Cf. John v. 19.

657. *ναός* is a certain emendation for the MSS. *λαός*. The renewal of the glory of the temple is a constant element in the pictures of the Messianic age, *e.g.* 1 Enoch 90. 28, Jub. 1. 17, Tobit xiii. 16, xiv. 5. The O.T. basis of this hope is in Ezek. xl.–xliv., Isaiah liv. 11 ff., Hagg. ii. 7–9, Zech. ii. 5–9, etc. It assumed new forms after 70 A.D.; cf. *Sib.* V., 250 ff., 420 ff.

660. Cf. IV. (II.) Esdr. xiii. 31.

638–8. For the gathering of the kings against the Messiah, cf Jer. i. 15, Ps. ii., Zech. xiv. 2, Enoch 90. 16–19, IV. (II.), Esdr. xiii. 34, Rev. xvii. 12.

will God speak to each people of vain and uninstructed mind, and their judgement shall come from the high God, and they shall all perish at the hand of the ever-living. Fiery swords shall fall from heaven on the earth: great flashing torches, flaming through the midst of them; and the earth, mother of all things, shall be shaken in those days by the hand of the Immortal, and the fishes of the sea and all the beasts of the earth and the myriad tribes of birds, and every soul of man and every sea shall shudder before the face of the Immortal, and there shall be great fear. He shall break asunder the craggy peaks of the mountains and the great hills, and a dark cloud shall overshadow all; and the high gullies in the lofty mountains shall be full of dead: and the rocks shall run with blood, and every torrent shall fill the plain with it. And all the strong-built walls of the enemy shall fall down, because they knew not the judgement of the great God, but ye did all rush to take up spears in your folly against the holy place. And God shall give judgement upon all, by war, by the sword, by fire and drenching rain; and brimstone shall fall from heaven, with stones of hail great and grievous: and death shall overtake the four-footed beasts. And then shall they know the ever-living God who judges thus; and through the width of the earth shall sound the wailing and mourning of perishing men; and all the unholy shall be bathed in blood: the very earth shall drink the blood of the slain, and the beasts shall be glutted with their flesh. All these things did the great and eternal God bid me foretell; and this shall not lack

675 ff. based on Ezek. xxxviii. 20 ff.
682–4. Cf. Judith ii. 8.
689. Cf. Rev. ix. 17, etc.
692. *hail*: cf. Rev. xvi. 21.
693. *then shall they know*: cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 23.

fulfilment and consummation: enough that His mind has counselled it; for the Spirit of God is in the world a spirit of truth.

But all the sons of the high God shall dwell peaceably round the temple, rejoicing in that which the creator, the righteous sovereign judge, shall give them. For He shall stand by them as a shelter in His greatness, as though He walled them in with a wall of flaming fire; they shall be at peace in their cities and lands. No hand of evil war shall stir against them, but the Immortal shall be their champion, and the hand of the holy one. Then all the isles and cities shall say—how greatly the immortal God loves those men, for all things fight for them and aid them, the heaven, the sun God's chariot, and the noon. They shall sing with their mouths this hymn of sweetness: "O come, let us all bow to the ground to supplicate the King immortal, the great and eternal God; let us send gifts to His sanctuary, for He is Lord alone: and let us all pay heed to the law of God most high, who is the most righteous of all on the earth. But we had gone astray from the path of the Immortal, honouring in our foolishness the work of men's hands, even idols and graven images of men that perish." Thus the souls of the faithful shall cry aloud. ["Come, let us fall on our face in the house of God, and rejoice in our houses to hymn our God and Father; and let us take to ourselves the arms of our enemies throughout the earth, for seven times of revolving years, shields and bucklers, helmets and all manner of gear, and much plenty of bows and spears and javelins; for wood shall not be cut from the thicket for burning in the fire."]

706. *a wall of fire:* cf. Zech. ii. 5.
716 ff. Reminiscences of Ps. xcv.
721 f. Cf. Ps. Sophocles in Eus. *Præp. Ev.* XIII. xiii. p. 680.

But thou, poor Hellas, cease from proud thoughts; entreat the Immortal, the great-hearted, and beware. Send not† to this city thy foolish people, nor whoso is not of the holy land of the great God. Move not Camarina, for unmoved it is better: nor the leopard from its lair, lest evil befall thee. Refrain thyself, and keep not a haughty spirit of pride in thy heart, nor embark on a hard struggle. Serve the high God, that thou mayest have a portion in these things.

But when this destined day is fully come [and the judgement of immortal God comes upon men], a great rule (*or* beginning) and judgement shall come upon men. For the fertile earth shall yield her best fruit of corn and wine and oil [and sweet honey from heaven for drink, trees bearing fruit after their kind, flocks of sheep, oxen, lambs and kids of the goats]; it shall gush out in sweet fountains of white milk: the cities shall be full of good things, and the fields with fatness; no sword shall come against the land, nor shout of war; nor shall the earth again be shaken, deeply groaning: no war nor drought shall afflict the land, no dearth nor hail to spoil the crops, but deep peace over all the earth; king shall live as friend to king to the bound of the age, and the Immortal shall establish in the starry heaven one law for men over all the face of the earth for all the doings of hapless mortals. For He alone is God, and there is no other; He too will burn up with fire the might (race) of stubborn men.

732–40. This warning to Hellas, not to invade the holy city, may date from the early part of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. It looks as if it had been worked into the context by the addition of 733 (entreat the Immortal . . .) and 740 (serve the high God, etc).

736–7. Note how an ancient Greek proverb is balanced with a parallel clause, in the manner of Hebrew poetry.

744 ff. see on 620 ff. above.

But do ye stir up your mind in your breasts, and shun unlawful worship; serve the living God: keep from adultery, and lust which confounds the use of nature: bring up thy own children and slay them not; for the Immortal will be wroth with him that sins in these things.

And then shall He raise up His kingdom for ever over all men, He who once gave the holy law to the godly, to whom He promised to open the earth and the world and the gates of the blessed with all joys, with a deathless mind and everlasting joy. And from all the earth men shall bring frankincense and offerings to the temple of the high God: and there shall be no other temple among men, to be told of among those that are yet unborn, save that which God gave to the faithful to honour: [for men call him the son (*or*, call it the sanctuary) of the high God]. All the paths of the plain, and the rough place of the hills, and the lofty mountains, and the wild waves of the sea shall be made easy for traveller and sailor in those days; for perfect peace and plenty cometh on the earth: and the prophets of the high God shall take away the sword, for they are the judges of men and their righteous kings; and well-gotten wealth shall abound among men: for this is the judgement of the great God, and His rule.

Rejoice, O daughter, and be glad: for He that made heaven and earth hath given thee joy: and He shall

771. *everlasting joy:* cf. Isaiah xxxv. 10.
772. Cf. Isaiah lx. 6.
775. The MSS. have the line υἱὸν γὰρ καλέουσι. Several *μεγαλοῦ θεοῦ*. Emendations such as *ναόν*, *οἶκον*, have been proposed: but the line may be a Christian gloss, suggested by John ii. 21.
777 ff. Cf. Isaiah xl. 4.
785. Cf. Zech. ix. 9, Isaiah xxxv. 1.
786. Isaiah xxxv. 10.

dwell in thee, and thou shalt have everlasting light. The wolf and the lamb shall feed together on the mountains, the leopard shall eat grass with the kid: the bear shall lie down with the †herds of calves,† and the devouring lion shall eat chaff at the stall as the ox, and little children shall lead them with a halter, for He shall make the wild beast harmless (lit. helpless) upon earth. And the babe shall lie down with the dragon and the asp, and shall suffer no hurt: for the hand of God shall be on them.

I will tell thee an unerring sign, whereby to know when the end of all things shall come on earth. When by night in the starry heaven swords are seen westward and eastward, then shall a dust fall from heaven over all †the earth and the light of the sun shall fail from heaven in his mid course, and suddenly the moon-rays shall shine out and come upon the earth; there shall be a sign of dripping of blood from the rocks; and in a cloud ye shall see a warring of footmen and horse, like a hunting of beasts, in the likeness of a mist; this is the end of war (*or*, of all things) which God who dwells in heaven

787. *everlasting light*: cf. IV. 191.
787 ff. Cf. Isaiah xi. 6–9, Apoc. Bar. 73. 6.
793. *harmless*: πηρόν, lit. maimed or defective: on the word see Armitage Robinson, *Ephesians*, 271 f.
798, 805. Cf. 673 above, 2 Macc. v. 2, Jos., *B. J.* VI. 288.
800. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 24.
801. Cf. Joel. ii. 10.
802–4. Cf. IV. (II.) Esdr. v. 4 f.
805 (798–9). These portents are given by Josephus as occurring during the siege of Jerusalem (*B. J.* VI. 288, 298, Niese), cf. Luc. *Hist.* V. 13, Luke xx. 11; in 2 Macc. v. 2 [illegible] in connection with Antiochus Epiphanes' second invasion [illegible]; cf. Dio, LXVI. 11, in his account of the great eruption of Vesuvius, says, "magnus numerus hominum naturam excedentium, quales gigantes finguntur, modo in monte, modo in regione circumiacente . . . uagari uersarique in aere uisus est."

is bringing to pass; but all must do sacrifice to the great King.

These things do I shew forth, who came from the long walls of Assyrian Babylon, sent in frenzy as a fire into Hellas, foretelling to all mortals the manifold wrath of God . . . so that I utter as prophecy the riddles of God. And in Hellas men shall name me from a country which is not mine, as the shameless one of Erythræ; others shall say that I am the Sibyl begotten of Circe and Gnostos, distraught and deceiving; but when all things come to pass, then shall ye remember me, and none shall call me distraught, who am a prophetess of the high God. For He did not reveal to me that which He shewed before to my forbears; but that which was in the beginning did God (*or*, my father) tell me, and all that was to be thereafter did God put in my mind; that so I should foretell things that were to be before they came to pass, and declare them to men. For when the world was covered with a flood, and one man of proved integrity was left alone, voyaging on the waters in an ark of wood, with birds and beasts, that the earth might again be replenished: his (son's) wife was I, and of his

809–29. In this concluding section the Sibyl gives an account of herself, or rather four accounts blended into one. She is (*a*) the Babylonian Sibyl (809–11): but (*b*) she will be called the Erythræan, and (*c*) falsely called Circe's daughter (814–5); whereas (*d*) she is a true prophetess and the daughter-in-law of Noah.

From Pausanias X. 12, 9, Ps. Justin Coh. ad Gr, 37, Suidas s.v. Σίβυλλα, it appears that the Babylonian or Chaldæan Sibyl was "the daughter of Berosus and Erymanthe, by name Sabbe (or Sambethe)": but the compiler of *Sib.* III. could not claim to be both the daughter of Berosus and the daughter-in-law of Noah. Hence it may be supposed that *Sib.* III., while taking over 809–11 from the Babylonian source, has omitted some such line as Βηρώσσου Σάββη θυγάτηρ μητρὸς δ'Ερυμάνθης.

815. *Gnostos:* Bleek conjectured Glaucus; in *Æn.* VI. 36, the priestess who escorts Æneas to the Sibyl is Deiphobe Glauci.

blood, to whom the first things befell: and the last things were all revealed; therefore let all these the words of my mouth be counted for truth.

BOOK IV

1–23. *Prelude.*

Hear, ye people of proud Asia and Europe, all the true prophecies which I shall utter with honeyed mouth from our shrine; no oracular voice am I of false Phœbus, whom vain men called a god, and falsely reckoned as a seer, but of the great God, not fashioned by hands of men in the likeness of dumb idols graven in stone. He hath not for His habitation a stone dragged into a temple, deaf and dumb, a bane and a woe to mortals; but one which may not be seen from earth nor measured by mortal eyes, nor was fashioned by mortal hand: He who beholdeth all things together, and Himself is seen of none: in whose hand are dark night and day, the sun and the moon and the sea where go the fish, the earth and the rivers and unfailing streams, things created for life, rain giving birth to the fruit of the field, and to trees, the vine and the olive. It is He who has smitten through my mind with a scourge, that I should declare unerringly to men all that now is and shall be hereafter

4–5. The Jewish Sibyl attacks her pagan rival, who claims to be inspired by Apollo; cf. Paus. X. 12 *ὃ δ' ἐγώ, ὁ Φοίβου σαφηγορίς εἰμι Σίβυλλα*, and the Erythræan inscription [illegible] in *Mitthei-lungen des K. D. arch. Instituts, Ath. Abt.*, XVII. 1902): *ἡ Φοίβου πρόπολος χρησμήγορός εἰμι Σίβυλλα.*

10 ff. see on III. 11.

16. *created for life:* cf. Ecclus. xxxix. 25 ff., Zeller, *Phil. der Gr.* III. 1. 272.

from the first generation to the tenth; for He shall try every word as He brings it to pass. But thou, O people, give ear in all things to the Sibyl, as she pours forth the stream of truth from holy lips.

24–48. Righteousness of Judaism: doom of its pagan despisers.

Happy among men shall they be upon earth who love to bless the great God before taking food and drink, trusting in the ways of godliness: who shall turn away their eyes from every temple and all altars, vain structures of stones that cannot hear, defiled with the blood of living things and sacrifices of four-footed beasts; and will have an eye to the glory of the one God, doing no presumptuous deeds of blood nor trafficking for thievish gain—abominable are such works—having no base desires for strange women [nor for defilement with men, loathly and hateful], whose ways and manners and piety other men will not follow, so shameless is their desire, but they will mock at them with scorn and laughter, and

20. γενεή means here, as in 47, etc., an age or period. The Sibylline tradition followed a parallel line to the Hesiodic division of the ages according to metals: but while Hesiod reckoned five (cf. the four ages of Daniel), the Sibylline tradition reckoned ten; so in an Erythræan oracle preserved by Phlegon (see *Alex.* II. 120); cf. Juv., *Sat.* xiii. 28, nona ætas agitur, peioraque tempora ferri temporibus, Verg., *Ecl.* iv. 4 ff.

This tradition is closely connected with the "great year" of the Stoics, *i.e.* that which is completed by the return of all the stars to their original positions, and is the period destined to end with the ἐκπύρωσις or world-conflagration: after this all history repeats itself: "altera erit tum Tiphys" (Verg. *Ecl.* iv.). The Jewish and Christian Sibyllists, while rejecting the conception of "the great return," retained that of the ten ages: cf. *Sib.* II. 15, IV. 20, 86, VII. 97, VIII. 199.

25. *to bless . . . before taking food:* the Jewish precept of grace before food and drink was based upon Deut. viii. 10. References in Schürer, II. ii. 117 f.

37. *scorn:* refers to the ridicule poured upon Jewish observances

in their witlessness will miscall them fools—so evil and presumptuous are their own works. Faithless is the whole race of men. But when the judgement of the world and of mortals shall come which God shall make, judging the godly and ungodly alike, then shall He send the godless away into darkness [and then shall they know what impiety they have done], but the godly shall continue upon the grain-giving earth, and God will give them breath and life and grace. But this shall all come to pass in the tenth generation: now will I speak of that which shall be from the first generation.

49–114. *World-kingdoms from Assyria to Hellas* (70), *Macedonia* (88), *and Rome* (102), *with some miscellaneous oracles.*

First the Assyrians shall rule over all mankind, holding sway and rule over the world for six generations, from the day when in the wrath of the God of heaven He caused a flood to break forth, and overwhelmed the earth with its cities and all that dwelt therein.

Them the Medes shall subdue, and hold the throne in pride; two generations only are theirs, in which these happenings shall be: there shall be dark night at the midnoon of day; the stars shall fall from heaven, and the orb of the moon, and the earth shall be shaken with the noise of a great earthquake, and lay low many cities and works of men, and islands shall rise out of the depths of the sea.

by Alexandrine and other writers from Manetho onwards, cf. S. . . . II. ii. 291 ff., iii. 249 ff.

43. *darkness . . . fire:* cf. 1 Enoch 91. 15, 103. 8, and, for other references, Bousset, *R. J.* 266. f.

45–6. The life of the righteous is to be a long-continued earthly existence; cf. 187 infr., and III. 619, note.

But when great Euphrates runs high with blood, then shall the dread cry of war be raised between Mede and Persian; the Persians shall fall beneath the spear of the Medes and fly beyond the great water of Tigris. And the Persian power shall be the greatest in all the world, yet for them is appointed but one generation of wealth and rule.

Then shall deeds be done such as men would pray God to avert, warfare and murder, dissensions, flight, burning of towers and overturning of cities, when proud Hellas shall sail against the broad Hellespont, bringing grievous doom to Phrygia and to Asia.

But upon Egypt and her broad plough-lands of wheat shall come dearth and lean harvests for the course of twenty years, when the Nile that nurtures the blade shall hide elsewhere beneath the earth his dark water.

From Asia a king shall come, lifting up a mighty sword, in countless ships, walking on the wet ways of the sea, and cutting through a high-peaked mountain in his voyaging; him trembling Asia shall receive back, as he flees for refuge from the war.

Sicily, unhappy isle, a great river of fire shall burn up, as Etna vomits out its flame; and Croton, that great city, shall fall into a deep abyss.

Hellas shall have strife; raging against each other they shall lay low many cities, and many lives shall they destroy in their fighting; but the strife shall be of doubtful issue to either side.

But when the race of men reaches the tenth generation, the yoke of slavery, with fear, shall fall upon the Persians.

76. *a king*: i. e. Xerxes; for his canal through the peninsula of Mount Athos see Hdt., VII. 22–24.

But when the Macedonians hold the proud sceptre, thereafter shall Thebes suffer misery and capture. Carians shall inhabit Tyre, and the Tyrians shall perish. Samos, banks of sand shall cover it all, and Delos shall no more answer its name, but be wholly deleted. Babylon, great to behold but small in fight, shall stand fortified with hopes that profit nothing. Bactra the Macedonians shall inhabit, and they who are subject to Bactra and Susa shall all flee into the land of Hellas.

The day shall yet come, when Pyramus with his silver stream shall throw up a bar of sand as far as the holy island. †And thou, Baris, shalt fall, and Cyzicus, when the earth is violently shaken, and cities collapse. Upon the Rhodians shall come the last, but the greatest evil.

Neither shall Macedonia keep her power; but from the west a great war shall grow up against her from Italy, whereby the whole world shall be made subject, enslaved under the yoke of the sons of Italy.

And thou, poor Corinth, shalt see the day of thy capture. Carthage, thy towers too shall bow the knee to the ground.

88–9. Alexander the Great captured Thebes, in Bœotia, massacred its inhabitants, and destroyed the city, in 335 B.C.

91. *Delos . . . Samos:* cf. III. 363.

97–8. This is an ancient oracle, quoted (but not assigned to any source) by the geographer Strabo (I. iii. 7, ed. Müller, 52).

99 f. *Baris:* the MSS. have *καὶ Σύβαρις*; *καὶ σύ, Βάρις* is Badt's emendation. The Asiatic Baris was near Cyzicus. Pausanias (II. vii. 1) appears to refer to this passage: "the same earthquake (which ruined Sicyon) injured also the cities of Lycia and Caria, and the shock was felt especially in the island of Rhodes, so that the Sibylline oracle touching Rhodes appeared to be fulfilled." The earthquake cannot be dated. Pausanias does not say (as Frazer suggests) that it happened in the time of Demetrius, 302 B.C.; conjectures range from A.D. 23 to 141. See Frazer's note *ad loc.*

105. Fall of Corinth, 146 B.C.

106. Carthage destroyed by Scipio, 146 B.C.

Hapless Laodicea, thee shall an earthquake lay low in ruin, but thou shalt stand again as a city with foundations. Fair Myra of Lycia, never shall the earth, when once it is shaken, give thee firm standing; thou shalt fall headlong to the ground, and pray to find another land of refuge, as a sojourner, when in thunderings and earthquake the dark water of the sea spreads sand † over Patara, for their godlessness.

Thee too, Armenia, oppression and slavery awaits.

115–139. *Rome and the Jews; Nero, Titus, eruption of Vesuvius, Nero's return.*

To the men of Jerusalem also shall come an evil storm-blast of war from Italy, and shall lay waste the great temple of God, when putting their trust in folly they shall cast away godliness and do hateful deeds of blood before the temple; and then shall a great king from Italy flee away like a deserter, unseen, unheard of, beyond the ford of Euphrates, after he has polluted his hands with the hateful murder of his mother, doing † the

107. cf. III. 471. This corresponds closely with Tacitus' account of the earthquake at Laodicea in A.D. 60: Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 27, Laodicea tremore terræ prolapsa . . . propriis opibus revaluit.

115. *the men of Jerusalem:* the word used is "the Solymi," which was the name of a Lycian tribe and mountain (Hom. *Il.* vi. 184, *Od.* V. 282); a natural but inaccurate etymology of the word Hierosolyma suggested the use of the adjective "Solymi" for the Jews: and this is found both in Greek and in Latin, cf. Juv. *Sat.* vi. 544, "interpres legum Solymarum."

118. *hateful deeds*: the excesses of the Zealots during the siege of Jerusalem: Jos. *B. J.* IV. iii. 1, etc.

119. The legend of Nero's disappearance and return. The significance attached to the return (137 ff.) is not very clear; cf. V. 137–154. In V. 361–385 Nero is the arch-tyrant, and in V. 33–4, 214–227, he is depicted in plain colours as the Antichrist.

121. *murder:* Nero murdered his mother Agrippina in 59 A.D., Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 3–8, Suet. *Nero*, 34.

deed with wicked hand. And many round his throne shall drench the soil of Rome with their blood, when he has fled beyond the land of Parthia.

To Syria shall come a Roman chieftain, who shall burn with fire the temple of Jerusalem, slay many of the Jews, and lay in ruin that great land of broad fields.

Then shall an earthquake destroy both Salamis and Paphos, when the dark water shall break over Cyprus, the sea-girt isle.

But when from a cleft in the earth, in the land of Italy, a flame of fire shoots out its light to the broad heaven, to burn up many cities and slay their men, and a great cloud of fiery ashes shall fill the air, and sparks fiery red shall fall from heaven, then should men know the wrath of the God of heaven, because they destroyed the blameless people of the godly. Then shall come to the west the strife of war stirred up, and the exiled man of Rome, lifting up a mighty sword, crossing the Euphrates with many tens of thousands.

140–151. *Hellenic oracles.*

Hapless Antioch, they shall no more call thee a city when through thy foolishness thou fallest beneath the spear; pestilence shall then lay waste Syria, and the dread cry of battle.

123. Conflicts of Galba, Otho and Vitellius.

125. *a Roman chieftain:* i. e. Vespasian.

128 f. *an earthquake:* cf. 143-4 infr. Eus., *Chron.* ed. Schoene, II. 188, assigns an earthquake in Cyprus, which destroyed three cities, to the year of Abraham 2092, *i. e.* A.D. 76.

130 ff. The eruption of Vesuvius and destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum in A.D. 79; Dio, LXVI. 21–23, Plin. *Ep.* VI. 16. 20.

140. According to Johannes Malalas, XVIII. 177, this oracle was "found" and quoted in Antioch in the time of Justinian, when the name of the city was changed to Theopolis.

Ah, wretched Cyprus, thee the spreading wave of the sea shall overwhelm, and the fierce storms of winter shall drive over thee.

Great wealth shall come to Asia, which Rome herself had made spoil of, and had stored in her rich houses; twice as much shall she then repay to Asia, and war shall restore it with interest.

The citadels of the Carians by the waters of Mæander, all the fair citadels they had fortified, bitter famine shall waste them, when the dark water of Mæander overwhelms them.

152–end. *Judgement, destruction and restoration.*

But when the faith of godliness has perished from among men, and righteousness is no more seen in the world . . . and living in unholy deeds they deal violently, doing evil with presumption, and none takes account of the godly, but in their great folly and unwisdom they destroy them all, rejoicing in violence, and staining their hands in blood; then shall they know that God is no longer merciful, but that gnashing His teeth in anger He will destroy the whole race of men at once with a great burning.

Wretched mortals, repent ye of these things, and provoke not the great God to shew all His anger; put away your swords, the slaying of men with groanings,

145 ff. A partial paraphrase of III. 350 ff.

149 ff. Perhaps a reference to the same disaster as that in 107 ff.

152 f. This is the "falling away" of 2. Thess. ii. 3; cf. Matt. xxiv. 12, Jude 18, 2 Tim. iii. 1 ff., *Sib.* V. 74.

160. *no longer merciful:* cf. 2(4) Esdr. vii. 33, "and compassion shall pass away, and pity be afar off, and long-suffering withdrawn"; 2 Baruch 85, 12, 1 Enoch 63. 8.

161. For this Sibyllist, history begins with the Flood and ends in the Fire; cf. 2 Pet. iii. 6–7; and for the fire cf. III. 54, 71 ff., V. 155–161, 206–283, 274 f., 512–531.

and your deeds of violence, wash your bodies from head to foot in running streams, and lift up your hands to heaven, asking forgiveness for the deeds done aforetime, and make propitiation with gifts for your impiety ; God will give repentance and will not destroy : He will cease from His anger, if ye all practice godliness in your minds, and hold it precious. But if ye will not hearken to me in your folly, but love impiety and give no good hearing to all these things, there shall be fire over the whole earth and a great sign of a sword with a trumpet, at the rising of the sun : and all the earth shall hear loud wailing and a mighty noise. It shall burn up the whole earth and destroy the whole race of men, all cities and rivers, with the sea : and it shall consume all things, and they shall be dust of fire.

But when all is turned to dust and ashes, and God who kindled it shall put to sleep the mighty fire, God Himself shall clothe the bones and ashes again in human shape, and re-make men as they were before. And then shall be the judgement, in which God himself shall judge the world again ; all that sinned in godlessness, over

165. Exhortation to accept the baptism of proselytes : a baptism of repentance, Mark i. 4, Schürer II. ii. 319 ff.

For baptism in running water cf. Didache VII. 1, *βαπτίσατε ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι.*

174. *a trumpet* : cf. Isaiah xxvii. 13, Ps.-Sol. xi. 1, Shemone Esre (Palestinian version) 10, Apoc. Abr. 31, Matt. xxiv. 31, a trumpet for the gathering of the elect ; 1 Cor. xv. 52, 1 Thess. iv. 16, for the resurrection ; *Sib.* VIII. 239, for the judgement. Also Rev. viii. 2, etc.

179 ff. The picture here is not that of a "resurrection of the just" (as in Test. XII. Patr., cf. Luke xiv. 14, xx. 36) : nor, as in Rev., that of a general resurrection following that of the righteous ; but as in 2 Baruch 50. 51, 52. 85, and as in the Similitudes of Enoch, 51. 1–3, an universal resurrection. For the restoration of mankind after its destruction, cf. V. 230 : and for the re-constitution of men in their bodies as they were, 2 Baruch 50. 2, *Sib.* II. 221 ff. (Ezek. xxxvii.).

185. Cf. 43 supr. Darkness (Matt. viii. 12, etc.) is here the chief

them shall earth be heaped to cover them, dark spaces of Tartarus and Stygian recesses of Gehenna. But all that are godly, they shall live again on the earth, and God shall give them breath and life and grace, even to the godly; and all shall then look upon themselves, beholding the sweet light of a sun that never sets; most blessed shall he be who shall live to see that time.

BOOK V

1–5. *Roman Emperors down to Hadrian.*

Come, hearken to the woeful tale of the sons of Latium. Next after the kings of Egypt, who perished, and the same earth swallowed them all, and after the man of Pella, beneath whose rule the whole east and the opulent west were brought, whom Babylon showed as he was, when it gave him back a corpse to Philip, no son of Zeus nor Ammon, as he was falsely called, and

element in the punishment of the wicked; cf. Jude 13, 2(4) Esdr. vii. 125, 1 Enoch 63. 6, Gospel of Nicodemus 18, *Sib.* I. 117 ff. For *Tartarus* and similar uses of Greek chthonian terms, cf. 2 Pet. ii. 4, *Sib.* I. 10 f., 101 ff., II. 302, VII. 291–2, 362.

180. As in 454 supr., the home of the righteous is to be on this earth; so also in the chiliastic pictures of VII. 169 ff., 205 ff.

191. *light*: cf. III. 787, VIII. 410, *φῶς αἰώνιον*, Enoch 58. 3, Ps.-Sol. iii. 12 (Rev. xxi. 23).

192. cf. III. 371.

5. *the man of Pella*: i. e. Alexander the Great. Pella was the capital of Macedonia.

7. *no son of Zeus*. Alexander, it is asserted, made this claim for himself: see Curtius Rufus, *Hist. Alex. Magn.* VIII. v. 5, "Iouis filium non dici tantum se sed etiam credi uolebat": cf. Diod. Sic. xvii. 51.

after the man of the race and blood of Assaracus, who came from Troy, and broke through the raging fire, and after many kings and warlike men, and after the babes whom the wolf took for her nurslings, shall come a king first of all, the first letter of whose name shall sum twice ten; he shall prevail greatly in war: and for his first sign he shall have the number ten; so that after him shall rule one who has the first letter as his initial: before whom Thrace shall cower and Sicily, then Memphis, Memphis brought low by the fault of her leaders, and of a woman undaunted, who fell on the wave (by the spear?). He shall give laws to the peoples and bring all into subjection, and after a long time shall hand on his kingship to one who shall have the number three hundred for his first letter, and a name well known from a river, whose sway shall reach to the Persians and Babylon: and he shall smite the Medes with the spear. Then shall rule one whose name-letter is the number three; then one whose initial is twenty: he shall reach the furthest ebb of Ocean's tide, swiftly travelling † with his

8. *a man of the race . . . of Assaracus:* Æneas. Cf. Verg. *Æn.* I. 284; II. 339, 664.

12. *twice ten:* = K, *i. e.* Caesar. The exegetical device so largely current in Rabbinical Judaism, by which the hidden meanings of the Bible were extracted by means of the numerical significance of letters and signs (gematria = γεωμετρία), is used here, as in Rev., for the construction of cryptic names. Lucian noted this as a familiar Sibylline trick, and parodied it (Lucian, *Alexander* 11).

14. *ten:* = I, *i. e.* Julius.

15. *the first letter:* = A, *i. e.* Augustus.

16. Thrace: at Philippi, 42 B.C.
Sicily = in the overthrow of Sextus Pompeius, 36 B.C.
Memphis: in the downfall of Cleopatra, 30 B.C.

21. *three hundred:* = T, *i. e.* Tiberius, the *river* being Tiber. There is no historical ground for what is said here about the Persians and Babylon.

24. *three:* = G, *i. e.* Gaius.

25. *twenty:* = K, *i. e.* Claudius.

26–7. Refers to the occupation of Britain.

Ausonian company. Then one with the letter fifty shall be king, a fell dragon breathing out grievous war, who shall lift his hand against his own people to slay them, and shall spread confusion, playing the athlete, charioteer, assassin, a man of many ill-deeds; he shall cut through the mountain between two seas and stain it with blood; yet he shall vanish to destruction (?); then he shall return, making himself equal to God: but God shall reveal his nothingness.

Three kings after him shall perish at each other's hand; then shall come a great destroyer of the godly, whom the number seventy plainly shows. His son, revealed by the number three hundred, shall take away his power. After him shall rule a devouring † tyrant, marked by the letter four, and then a venerable man,

28. *fifty:* = N, *i. e.* Nero.

29. *war: i. e.* against the Jews.

31. On Nero as athlete and charioteer, see Henderson, *Nero*, p. 126 f., 384.

32. *the mountain:* i. e. the Isthmus of Corinth; cf. 138, 218. Nero cut the first sod of a canal through the isthmus in 67 A.D., a task which "already Demetrius the King, Cæsar, and Caligula had planned" (Henderson, *Nero*, p. 386). Six thousand Jewish prisoners were sent by Vespasian to help; but the work was abandoned when little more than a fifth of it had been completed. The attitude of contemporaries to the plan is represented in 218: the fates, it is hinted, looked unfavourably on the scheme, and Apollonius of Tyana (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* iv. 24, v. 7, *Nero* init.) prophesied that Nero should never sail through the isthmus.

32. *stain with blood.* According to Dio, LXIII. 16, blood gushed out of the earth as soon as the work was begun.

34. *making himself equal with God:* cf. Rev. xii. 4, 6, perhaps Mark xiii. 14, Didache 16, καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλάνος ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ; Hippolytus *de Christo et Antichristo* 53: "and when the three horns are cut off, he will begin to show himself as God, as Ezekiel has said of old" (Ezek. xxviii. 2).

35. *three kings:* i. e. Galba, Otho and Vitellius.

37. *seventy:* = O, *i. e.* Vespasian (Οὐεσπασιανός). Cf. IV. 125 ff.; XII. 99 ff.

38. *three hundred:* = T, *i. e.* Titus. The story that he poisoned his father is mentioned in Dio lxvi. 17.

40. *four:* = D, *i. e.* Domitian. The MSS. τέφθος μόρος is cor-

by number fifty: but after him one to whom falls the initial sign three hundred, a Celt, ranging the mountains, but hastening to the clash of conflict he shall not escape an unseemly doom, but shall fall; the dust of a strange land shall cover him in death, a land named from the Nemean flower. Following him a silver-haired king shall reign: his name is that of a sea; he shall be a man of excellence and all discernment. Under thy sway, most excellent in goodness, dark-haired † lord, and under that of thy branches shall this empire be, all thy days. After him shall three kings bear rule: the last shall come late to his throne.

52–114. *Oracles on Egypt.*

I am filled, thrice wretched one, with woe at the

rupt; could the reading be ὕφιος μέρος (cf. δεινος ὄφις, 29 supr., and Tert. *Apol.* v., "Domitianus, portio Neronis de crudelitate")?

41. *fifty:* = N, *i. e.* Nerva. This favourable judgement upon Nerva is due to the fact that he mitigated the offensiveness of the temple-tax which Vespasian and Domitian had diverted to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus ("fisci Iudaici calumnia sublata" is an inscription on Jewish coins of his time), and lessened the severity of Domitian's law against proselytism.

43. *three hundred:* = T, *i. e.* Trajan. Trajan was a Spaniard from Bætica, not a Celt; perhaps the Sibyllist had the Celtiberi in mind. "Mountaineer" may refer to Trajan's exploits in Armenia. Trajan died at Selinus: and selinon, apium, or parsley is the "flower" with which victors were crowned at the Nemean games; Juv. Sat. viii. 226, Graiæque apium meruisse coronæ.

47. Hadrian: curiously called both ἀργυρόκρανος (47) and κυανοχαίτης (49). The praise of Hadrian in these lines, coming from a Jew of the time of Marcus Aurelius, *i. e.* after the revolt of Bar-Cochba and the second devastation of Jerusalem, is hard to understand. It suggests that the author of 1–51, who is wholly different in tone and temper from the writer or writers of the rest of Book V., had his own reasons for wishing to speak well of the Antonines. Zahn regards l. 51 as an interpolation, and thinks that the praise of Hadrian was written before Bar-Cochba's revolt, at a time when the Jews hoped that Hadrian would restore the temple (*Bereschith Rabba*, ed. Wünsche, 307 f.).

51. *three kings:* Antoninus Pius, L. Verus, Marcus Aurelius: the last came late to his throne, *i. e.* did not attain sole sovereignty till the death of his brother Verus in 169 A.D.

thought of an evil doom [I, the sister of Isis], even the inspired song of my oracle. First, round the foundation of thy temple sore-lamented shall mænads rush, and thou shalt be in evil hands in that day when the Nile shall overflow all the land of Egypt, sixteen cubits deep, flooding the whole land and overwhelming † men, and the beauty of the land and the glory of its face shall be put to silence.

Thou, Memphis, shalt lament sore for Egypt, for thou who didst once rule greatly the earth shalt be made wretched, so that the God who delights in the thunder shall cry from heaven: "Thou, mighty Memphis, who of old wast high in pride among hapless mortals, thou shalt weep sore for thy utter misery, so that the eternal, immortal God in the clouds shall hear it. Where now is that high spirit of thine among men? Inasmuch as thou didst rage against my servants anointed of God, and didst stir up evil against the good, for all these things thou shalt have just such a hard nurse † in requital. Thou shalt no more have a † part among the blessed: fallen from the stars, thou shalt not ascend into heaven."

These things did God bid me proclaim to Egypt, against the last time, when men shall be utterly evil. Yet they continue in their wickedness till evil befall them, even the wrath of the immortal God of heaven

53. *sister:* γνωστή; on the word, see Alex., I. ii. 202. But that a Sibyl so hostile to Egyptian religion as that of Book V. should give herself out to be the sister of Isis is very strange. Geffck. emends to Ἶσι, θεὸν γνώσῃ: and certainly a vocative is required by the context.

60–72. This passage has marks of a late date, *e. g.* the scansion βοησαῖ καὶ αὐτὸν in 62: and the word θεοχρίστους in 68 suggests that it may be a Christian addition, and refer to the persecution under Severus.

72. Cf. Isaiah xiv. 12–13.

who speaks in thunder, and they worship stocks and stones rather than God, and are in fear of many diverse things devoid of reason, sense and hearing, such as it is unfitting even to speak of, idols each and all, wrought by the hands of men. For men took for themselves as gods the creatures of their own labour and presumptuous imagining, gods of wood and stone, of brass and gold and silver, vain, lifeless, deaf, molten in the fire: these do they make, and in these do they vainly trust.

Thmuis and Xois,† Athribis, Koptos, Abydos † (cities?) of Heracles and Zeus and Hermes, and thou Alexandria, famed mother of (cities), war shall not leave thee . . . shalt pay for thy pride and all thy deeds. Thou shalt be silent for a long age, and the day of return . . . no longer shall delicate drink flow for thee . . . for the Persian shall come to thy † land like hail, and destroy thy land and the men that devise evil, with blood and death, † . . . a mighty foe of barbarous mind, a man of blood, raging wildly round thy † wondrous altars, coming in a flood, like the sand of the sea, hastening destruction upon thee; and then, thou city of wealth,

86–7. *Athribis, Koptos, Abydos:* Wilamowitz' conjecture for the senseless θλίβεται κόπτεται βουλῇ of the MSS. Thmuis, Athribis and Xois are cities of the Delta; Coptos is near Thebes, and Abydos lower down the Nile, where also there was another Athribis. Of the names which follow, Mr. H. J. Bell of the British Museum kindly writes—"the first (Heracleopolis) is probably the city and nome of that name which lay between the Fayum (to the S.E.) and the Nile; the second is doubtless Diospolis Magna, *i. e.* Thebes, and the third Hermopolis Magna, the modern Ashmunaim. . . . All the places mentioned, except Thmuis and Coptos occur in the remarkable invocation of Isis in Grenfell and Hunt's *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XI. 1380, as seats of Isis-worship, and the other two may have occurred in the missing part."

92 ff. The Persians (Parthians) and their king will ravage Egypt, and only a third part of the people will be left. But the scene changes in 104, and the Parthian attack is there upon the holy land and city, as in 1 Enoch 56. 7. The Parthian king is an Antichrist figure, and is to be destroyed by the Messiah—cf. Rev. ix. 16 ff.

thou shalt have great sorrow. All Asia shall fall on the ground and lament for the gifts of beauty from thee wherewith she rejoiced to crown herself.

And he who gained rule over the Persians shall war against thy land, kill all thy men and waste all thy livelihood, so that but the third part shall remain for wretched mortals. From the west he shall rush in on thee, leaping lightly, to besiege and make desolate all thy land. But when he has reached the height of strength and grim † boldness, he shall go on to intend the devastation of the city of the blessed. And then a king sent from God against him shall destroy every great monarch and all mighty men: and so shall justice be done upon men by the Immortal.

Ah woe, my poor heart, why thus dost thou urge me on to declare to Egypt her misery under many rulers? Go thou to the East, to the witless race of Persia, and show to them that which is near at hand and that which is to be.

115–136. *Oracles of uncertain origin.*

The stream of the river Euphrates shall lift up a flood, and shall destroy the Persians,† Iberians and the Babylonians and the Massagetæ that rejoice in war and trust in their bow. All Asia as far as the isles shall be burnt and blaze with fire. Pergamos, once noble, shall perish from its foundations,† and Pitane shall be seen utterly desolate among men. All Lesbos shall sink in the deep abyss, to perish. Smyrna rolled down from her cliffs shall lie lamenting: and she that was noble and renowned shall be destroyed. The men of Bithynia shall weep to

104. *from the west:* cf. 371 infr.; Dan. viii. 5; Rev. xiii. 1.
119. *from its foundations:* the MSS. have βοτρυδόν; Alex. conjectured βαθρηδόν.

see their land in ashes, with great Syria and Phœnicia the populous.

Woe to thee, Lycia, for the ills devised against thee by the sea, which shall invade thy land of his own accord. and with a dread shaking of the earth, and bitter streams shall overwhelm the spice-bearing land of Lycia, and that which bore no spices.

Dread wrath shall come upon Phrygia, by reason of that sorrow for the sake of which Rhea, mother of Zeus, came to her and there abode.

The sea shall destroy the race of Centaurs † and a wild people: the Thessalian land a deep eddying river shall ruin, the deep-flowing Peneian stream shall destroy the shapes of wild beasts from off the earth, even Epidanus shall waste to the earth the Lapithæ (and?) their land: Epidanus, who avows that once he begot the bestial race.†

137–154. *Return of Nero.*

For Hellas, thrice-wretched, shall the poets make lament, when the great and god-like king of great Rome breaks through the ridge of the Isthmus: he whom Zeus himself, they say, begot, and lady Hera; one who shall make honey-sweet songs with a voice of melody, playing the actor, and shall slay both his wretched mother and many besides. This king, terrible and shameless, shall flee from Babylon, hated by every mortal and by all good

126 ff. According to Dio, LXIII. 26, Lycia was devastated by a tidal wave at the end of Nero's reign.

133–6. The text here is utterly confused and corrupt.

138. *the isthmus:* see on 52 supr.

141 f. On Nero as actor and musician, see Hertzberg, Vol. pp. 379 ff.

143. *Babylon:* = Rome, as in 158 infr., III. 301; 1 Peter v. 13: Rev. xvii. 5, etc. See Chase in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. Babylon.

men: because he slew many, and laid violent hands upon her who bare him, sinned against his wives, and was made of villainy. And he shall come to the Medes and the kings of the Persians, whom first he desired, and to whom he brought renown, conspiring with those evil men against a hated race (*or*, the race of true men): who seized the temple built by God, burnt the people of the country that went up to it, for whom I sing a due lamentation: for when he appeared the whole creation was shaken, kings perished, and they in whose hands the power remained brought ruin on the great city and the righteous people.

155–178 *The downfall of "Babylon"-Rome.*

But when after the fourth year a great star shines, which shall of itself destroy the whole earth † . . . and from heaven a great star shall fall on the dread ocean and burn up the deep sea, with Babylon itself and the land of Italy, by reason of which many of the Hebrews perished, holy and faithful, and the people of truth.

Among evil men thou shalt suffer evil, but shalt remain desolate for whole ages [om. 164], loathing the soil of thy land: because thou didst seek after enchantments, adultery was in thy midst, with unlawful intercourse with boys, thou woman-hearted city, unrighteous, evil, and wretched beyond all. Woe to thee, thou city of the Latin land, all unclean, thou mænad circled with

153. *they in whose hands:* i. e. Vespasian and Titus.
154. *the great city:* cf. 224 infr., Rev. xi. 8.
155. *a great star:* cf. Rev. viii. 1 f.; *Sib.* III. 333–5; VIII. 191 ff.
157. The MSS. reading αὐτοὶ πρῶτον ἔθηκαν τ᾽ εἰναλίῳ Ποσειδᾶνι yields no sense, and no tolerable emendation has been proposed.
165. *enchantments:* cf. Isaiah xlvii. 12.
169, 173. Cf. Isaiah xlvii. 8, Rev. xviii. 7.

vipers, thou shalt sit a widow on thy hills, and the river Tiber shall bewail thee, his consort, with thy murderous heart and ungodly mind. Knowest thou not the power and design of God? But thou saidst: "I am alone, and none shall despoil me." Yet now shall God who lives for ever destroy both thee and thine, and no sign of thee shall be left any more in that land, nor of the old time when the great God brought thee to honour. Abide thou alone, thou lawless city: wrapt in burning fire, inhabit thou in Hades the gloomy house of the lawless.

179–199. *Oracles on Egypt and Cyrene.*

Now once more, O Egypt, do I bewail thy doom; Memphis, thou shall be chief among the afflicted, and thy sinews shall be smitten through: thy pyramids shall utter a bold word of reproach. Python,† once rightly called the double city, be thou silent for ages, that thou mayest cease from woe. Thou insolence, storehouse of woes, lamentable mænad, greatly afflicted, full of tears, thou shalt remain a widow for ever.

180. πληχθεῖσα τένοντας: the expression occurs also in 138, 518, and is a slight indication that the same hand has worked through Book V. (from 52 onwards).

182. Πύθων ἡ τὸ πάλαι δίπολις κληθεῖσα δικαίως. An obscure line. Wilamowitz conjectured Πειθώ = Pithom (Exod. i. 11); but Pithom was in Hellenistic times known as Heroöpolis, and was a place of no importance. Neither Πύθων (oracular city) nor δίπολις is specially applicable to Memphis. Attempts have been made to make the words refer to Thebes, the importance of which would justify its being mentioned after Memphis. Δίπολις might refer to the double city, East and West Thebes; but Πύθων remains insoluble. The chief god at Thebes was Ammon, and Apollo Pythius was not specially worshipped there.

184. *arrogance*: perhaps a reminiscence of Isaiah xxx. 7. That an Egyptian city is so addressed tells against Geffcken and Wilamowitz' view that in 288 ff. ὕβρις is personified as a kind of demon.

When Barca over her rags puts on the white mantle may I not be there to see the day.

O Thebes, where is thy great strength? A savage foe shall destroy thy people; and thou, wretched city, shall mourn in dark raiment and desolation, and pay a recompense for all that thou hast done in the shamelessness of thy hearts: and men shall look on thy lamentation, because of thy lawless deeds.

Syene, a great man of the Ethiopians shall destroy it. Thee, Teuchira, shall the dark-skinned Indians overcome, and dwell there. Pentapolis, thou shalt have sorrow,† and a man of might shall destroy thee. Libya the lamentable, who shall declare thy doom? Cyrene, what mortal shall bewail thy misery? Thou shalt not cease from wretched wailing until the time of thy destruction. Round the Bryges† and the wealthy Gauls (Galatians (?)) shall roar an ocean filled with blood: for they too did evil to the children of God, when the Phœnician king of the Sidonians led a Gallican host from Syria.

188. An ancient oracle from Cyrene, retaining correctly the Doric form *γενοίμαν*. The white mantle (*κυπάσσιον*) is the *burnous* of the Libyan warrior.

194 ff. Syene = Assouan; Teuchira = the Libyan Tauchira, afterwards Arsinoe; Pentapolis = a group of towns near Cyrene.

200. MSS. *βρύτεσσι*. Geffck. adopts Wilamowitz' conjecture *βρύγεσσι* (the Bryges were a Macedonian tribe). But the MSS. reading was understood by Procopius (*B. G.*, I. 24, 372 D, quoted by Rzach), to mean Britons; and the passage probably refers to a portent related by Dio, LXII. 1, namely, that in A.D. 62 the channel between Gaul and Britain ran red with blood. The writer connects the Gauls in some way with the fall of Jerusalem, and regards the portent as a sign of divine displeasure against them.

203-4. The allusion is entirely obscure. According to Alex., Vespasian is called a Phœnician king because he landed at Ptolemais, and his army is called Gallic because Mucianus sent him as a reinforcement the Legio III. Gallica. But the reinforcements referred to were sent to Titus, and it is clear from Tac. *Hist.* IV. 39, V. 1, that the legion in question was the Legio III. Cyrenaica: III. Gallica was elsewhere.

Thee too, Ravenna, he shall slay, and lead to the slaughter.

Be afraid, ye Indians and high-hearted Ethiopeans: for when the fiery wheel of the ecliptic (?) . . . and Capricorn . . . and Taurus among the Twins encircles the mid-heaven, when the Virgin ascending and the Sun fastening the girdle round his forehead dominates the whole† firmament; there shall be a great conflagration from the sky, falling on the earth; and in the warring stars there shall be a new portent, so that the whole land of Ethiopia shall perish in fire and groaning.

214–227. *Return of Nero.*

And thou too, Corinth, bewail thy sad overthrow; for when the three sisters of Destiny, spinning their twisted thread, have brought again from on high him who fled by guile, by the bank of the isthmus, till all behold him, who once cut through the rock with the smiting of tools, then shall he destroy and lay waste thy land, as it is ordained. For to him God gave power to do deeds greater than all kings before him; first with a sickle he shall tear out† the roots of three heads, and give them to others to feed on, so that they shall eat the flesh of the parents of the unholy king.† For upon all men bloodshed and terror are ordained, by reason of the great

The Gauls appear as enemies of the Jews in 2 Macc. viii. 20.

205. Perhaps an exaggerated reference to the disaffection at Ravenna in 69 A.D., when the Roman navy went over from Vitellius to Vespasian.

206 ff. The battle of the stars: see on 512 ff.

216. *the isthmus:* see on 32 supr.

220 f. Cf. 366 infr.

222 *three heads:* i.e. the Flavian Cæsars, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian (see note on the Nero-legend, p. 38 above). Hippolytus, however (*De Christo et Antichristo*, 52), took the three horns to be Egypt, Ethiopia and Libya.

ten horns: i.e. the Roman Emperors from Julius to Vespasian.

city and the righteous people, the people who shall surely be saved, whom the providence of God chose out.

O thou unstable, perverse, ill-fated, beginning and great ending of affliction for men, of harm to things created, and their destined restoration, insolent, leader in evil, and bane of men, who hath ever desired thee, who is not inly wroth at thee? In thee a good king, living nobly, was cast down in death. Thou hast set all in disorder, all good thou hast submerged in evil, and through thee the good ordinances (?) of the world have been changed. Charge this disorder to us, if thou wilt: † what sayest thou? "I will persuade thee, and if † in aught thou blamest me, say on." Once among men was diffused the bright sunlight of the concordant rays of prophecy: the tongue that dropped fair honey for all mankind to drink was manifest and went forward and rose in kindness upon all. Wherefore, thou who art blind in counsel, author of great evils, both the sword and sorrow shall come in that day. The beginning and great ending of woes for men, of harm to things created and their destined restoration, hear thou a bitter ill-sounding word, thou bane of men.

247–255. *The Restoration of the City and Temple.*

But when the Persian's land shall cease from war, from pestilence and groaning, in that day shall be raised

228–246. Usually taken as a Jewish invective against Rome; but as it stands now it may well be Christian, like 256–9. The "king" of 233 must surely be our Lord, and the city will then be Jerusalem, as in Rev. xi. 8. The appeal to prophecy in 238–41 strongly recalls John v. 35; and the difficult line 237 reads like a compressed "dialogus adversus Iudæos."

Geffck., who takes the view that here the hatred of the law (ὕβρις) is personified (see on 184), gives prosodical reasons for assigning a late date to the passage.

247. *shall cease from war:* i. e. when the final onset of the

up the race of the Jews, blessed children of God and heaven, dwelling in the middle parts of earth around the city of God, and shall build up a great wall round about as far as Joppa, lifting it high, even to the dark clouds. The trumpet shall no more be blown, sounding for battle, nor shall those men perish at the hands of a raging enemy, but they shall set up† an eternal trophy over the wicked.

256–259. *A Christian Oracle: the return of the Crucified Messiah.*

And one chief man shall come again from the sky, who stretched forth his hands upon the fruitful tree, the best of the Hebrews, who once shall stay the sun in its course, calling upon it with fair speech and holy lips.

Antichrist-kingdom (Parthians, as in 93) is defeated. Geffck. connects this with the peace between Rome and Parthia under the Flavian Cæsars; but the reference is probably rather apocalyptic than historical.

251–2. Cf. 424 f.

253. For the peace of the new age, cf. 382 ff., III. 649 ff., 751.

257. *stretched forth*: Christ is the second Moses (Exod. xvii. 12). Cf. VIII. 251, ὃν Μωσῆς ἐτύπωσε προτείνας ὠλένας ἁγνάς.

the fruitful tree: the expression, which recalls many parallels in later literature, (*e.g.* Venantius Fortunatus *Carm.* II. ii. 22 crux fidelis . . . flore, fruge fertilis, and II. 19 fertilitate potens o dulce et nobile lignum) is based on the symbolism of the tree of life as a type of the Cross. Cf. Tert., *Adv. Iud.* 13, et lignum, inquit (Joel ii. 22), attulit fructum suum, non illud lignum in paradiso quod mortem dedit protoplastis, sed lignum passionis Christi, etc.; this goes back at least as far as Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 86, τὸ σταυρωθῆναι τοῦτον . . . σύμβολον ἦν τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς). See Lightfoot on *Ign. Smyrn.* 1. The [illegible] soon transformed into legend, *i.e.* the belief that a slip from the tree of life was planted on Golgotha, and furnished the actual wood of the Cross. Cf. Ev. Nicod. in Thilo *Cod. Apocr.*, I. 686.

258. *stay the sun*: as Jesus the son of Nun had done (Josh. x. 12-13); and as the Antichrist would also do, *Sib.* III. 65.

260–285. *Blessings of the chosen People, and miseries of the heathen in the coming age.*

Vex no more thy soul in thy breast, thou blessed one,† thou seed of God, full of riches, thou only-beloved flower, thou good light, noble protection, . . . Judæa, land of grace, fair city of inspired song. The unclean foot of the Greek shall no more walk wantonly in thy land, for he shall have in his heart a mind to share thy laws: but the sons of renown shall honour thee, and with holy singing shall set the table with sacrifice of all kinds and pious prayers; the righteous who in a little oppression endured hardness shall have† prosperity greater and fairer than before:† but the wicked who raised their voice to heaven in lawlessness shall cease from speaking one to another, and hide themselves, until the world be changed.† A rain of burning fire shall fall from the clouds: men shall no more reap fair fruit from the earth; all shall be unsown, unploughed, till men take knowledge of Him who governs all things, the immortal eternal God, and no longer pay honour to things that die, nor to dogs and vultures, such as Egypt taught them to worship with foolish mouths and vain lips. Only the holy land of the godly shall bring forth all her fruit, honey dripping from the rock, and from the fountain ambrosial milk shall flow for all the righteous; for they set their hope on one God, the Father, who alone is above all gods, and great was their piety and faith.

260 ff. For the whole passage, cf. III. 573 ff.
264. Cf. III. 734–5, and for 265, III. 710 ff.
269. *a little oppression:* cf. Wisd. iii. 5.
273. *changed:* cf. 300 infr., and III. 638.
276. *unsown:* see on III. 539.
279. Cf. 77 ff. supr., III. 30.
281. Cf. III. 261, 581.

286–297, 306–341. *Oracles upon Asia.*

But what is this that my mind in its wisdom bids me utter? Now will I bewail thee bitterly, wretched Asia, and the race of the Ionians, Carians, and wealthy Lydians. Woe to thee, Sardis, woe to thee, delightful Tralles, woe to thee, Laodicea, fair city: ye shall be destroyed with earthquakes, perish and be turned to dust. And to dark Asia . . . the well-builded temple of Artemis at Ephesus . . . shall fall headlong into the dread sea, the earth quaking and opening, as a ship is overwhelmed by a storm-wind. Ephesus shall lie prone by her shores, weeping and lamenting, and seeking for the temple that stands there no more.

And then in his anger the immortal God who dwells on high shall hurl from the sky a fiery bolt on the head of the unholy: and summer shall change to winter in that day. And then great woe † shall befall mortal men: for He that thunders from on high shall destroy all the shameless, with thunderings and lightnings and burning thunderbolts upon his enemies, and shall make an end of them for their ungodliness, so that the corpses shall lie on the earth more countless than the sand.

289. Cf. III. 459.

290. Cf. III. 471, IV. 107 ff.

293 ff. It is difficult to trace any disaster at Ephesus corresponding to these lines: they are quoted, apparently as a fulfilled prophecy, by Clem. Al. *Protr.* iv.; and it is conceivable that they may have been inserted here with reference to the great earthquake of A.D. 180, while it is also possible that their original composition belongs to a far earlier time, for Eus., *Chron.* Ol. 198, includes Ephesus among the cities ruined in the great earthquake mentioned in Tac. *Ann.* II. 47 (A.D. 17; see Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 39 note.

300. Cf. VIII. 215, "when God shall change the seasons, making winter into summer"; perhaps this is the clue to the word "change" in 273 supr. and III. 639: cf. III. 88–90, IV. (II.) Esdr. vii. 39 f., II. Enoch 65. 7.

305. Cf. Rev. xx. 8.

For Smyrna shall come, lamenting her Lycurgus (? shepherd), to the gates of Ephesus, (?) yet shall she perish all the more.

Foolish Cyme with her oracular streams shall fall into the hands of godless men, unrighteous and lawless, and shall no longer so much as lift up her voice to heaven, but shall lie dead beside the Cumæan springs. And then shall they cry out together in expectation of evil. The bad men of Cumæ, that shameless tribe, shall know the sign upon it of requital for its deeds. Then when they bewail their own land burnt to ashes, Lesbos shall be destroyed for ever by Eridanus.

Woe to thee, Corcyra, † thou fair city, cease thy revelling: Hierapolis, whose very soil is wedded to Pluto, thou shalt have the place of thy desire, a place of many tears, when thou buriest thyself in the earth by the waters of Thermodon. Tripolis, clinging to thy rock by the waters of Mæander, the wrathful providence

306–7. The MSS. have ἓὸν κλαίουσα λυκουργόν: Alex. conjectured Σάμορνον—Samornus was the harbour of Smyrna. The mention of Smyrna as going to Ephesus for sympathy and relief confirms the suggestion made above that the disaster of 180 A.D. is here referred to, for Ælius Aristides (ed. Dindorf, I. p. 497) says that at that time the Ephesians and Smyrnæans παρ' ἀλλήλους ἔθεον θορυβούμενοι.

308. This is an oracle on the Æolic Cyme. The words foolish and oracular are explained by the fact that Cyme had a reputation for stupidity and also a temple and oracle of Apollo; but it looks as if the Jewish Sibyllist meant the lines to be understood of the Italian Cumæ and the Cumæan Sibyl.

317. *Corcyra:* so the MSS.; Mendelssohn suggested Κίβυρα.

318. Hierapolis suffered, like Laodicea in the earthquake of A.D. 60 (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 27), as at many other times.

Πλούτωνι μιγεῖσα is a certain correction for the MSS. reading Πλούτῳ: it refers to a mephitic chasm at Hierapolis which was called Ploutonion or Charonion; see Ramsay in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. Hierapolis, Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 12.

320. *Thermodon:* a bad slip for Lycus.

of God shall destroy thee utterly, when for thy portion the waves cover thee by night beneath the sand.

May I never choose for my dwelling the land that has Phœbus for neighbour; a bolt from above shall destroy Miletus, the luxurious city, for that she chose the guileful song of Phœbus and († she rejected?) the studies of the learned, and their prudent counsel. Shew mercy, thou Father of all, upon the fertile and fruitful land, great Judæa, that we may behold thy judgements. For her thou didst know before others in thy grace, O God, that she might be known to all men as the land of thy favour, and that they should consider what privilege God has given her.

I long, thrice wretched, to see the works of the Thracians, even the wall from sea to sea, dragged down to the dust by a blast of air, falling like a river into the sea † where the cormorant dives for fish.†

Thou poor Hellespont, the son of Assyria shall bridge thee one day: Lysimache † the strong power of the Thracians shall devastate. An Egyptian king shall subdue Macedonia, and the might of his captains shall

324. The oracles of Asia Minor enjoyed great popularity in the first and still more in the second century A.D.; that the Sibyl should attack them is very natural. Geffck. interprets 324 as a reference to the tradition (Paus. x. 12. 5) that the Erythræan Sibyl "came to Claros of the Colophonians" (where there was a celebrated oracle); this may be right, but Miletus' choice of the song of Phœbus can only refer to the pride of the Milesians in the neighbouring oracle of Branchidæ.

333 ff. Apparently an ancient oracle referring to the wall of Miltiades; cf. Hdt. VI. 36.

336. An ancient oracle on Xerxes.

337. *εἰς σὲ μαχῇ Θρηκῶν* MSS.: Wilamowitz conjectured *Λυσι-μάχην*. During the war between Rome and Philip of Macedon, A.D. 200–196, "the flourishing Lysimachia on the Thracian Chersonese was totally destroyed by the Thracians" (Mommsen, *History of Rome*, E.T., ii. p. 246).

338. An Egyptian king: *i.e.* Ptolemy Keraunos, 280 B.C.

break the power of the barbarian region. Lydians and Galatians, Pamphylians and Pisidians shall wage evil strife, every man of them taking arms.

Thrice wretched Italy, desolate and unwept, thou shalt await destruction by a grievous stroke in a fruitful land.

344–360. *A warning of the coming tribulation.*

One day shall the voice of God be heard from above throughout the broad heaven as a peal of thunder. The rays of the very sun shall fail, the moon shall not give her bright light, in the time of the end, when God shall rule. There shall be thick darkness over all the earth: men shall be blind, and evil beasts also (?), and there shall be wailing, that day shall continue for a long time, so that men shall know that God himself is king and his eye is over all things from heaven. Then will He have no pity upon his enemies, who make sacrifice of lambs and sheep, of herds of lowing bulls, of great calves with gilded horns, to lifeless Hermæ and gods of stone. But follow ye the law of wisdom and the glory of the righteous: lest haply the immortal God in his anger destroy every kind and tribe of living men.† Ye must love as father the wise God who lives for ever.

361–385. *The coming of Antichrist (Nero): the great War, and the peace of the righteous.*

In the time of the end, and the last days of the moon, there shall be a mad, world-wide war, treacherous and guileful. And from the ends of the earth shall come the

345. Cf. IV. 175.
346 ff. Cf. 480 ff.; Joel ii. 10, Ass. Mos. 10. 5
353. *no pity*: see on IV. 159.
363 ff. Cf. IV. 137 ff., V. 28–34, 137 ff. 215 ff.

man who slew his mother, a fugitive, pondering piercing counsels in his mind, who shall subdue all the earth and hold sway over all, and shall be more prudent in counsel than any man: and the city which caused him to fall, he shall capture at a blow. He shall slay many men and mighty kings, and burn them all with fire, as none had done before him, but those who crouch in fear he shall raise up in his fury. Great war shall come upon men from the west, and blood shall flow down the banks into the deep-eddying rivers. † Wrath shall run in streams over the plain of Macedonia . . . † bringing help of allies to him from the west, but doom to the king. And then a wintry blast shall blow over the earth, and the plain shall be filled once more with evil war. For fire shall rain down from the floor of heaven upon men, and fire, water, thunderbolts, gloom, and murk in the sky, with wasting of war and a mist of slaughter to destroy all kings together and all men of might. Then shall the piteous ruin of war thus have an end: none shall any more make war with sword and steel and spear; this shall be unlawful henceforth. And the people of wisdom, which was forsaken, shall have peace, having made trial of calamity, that thereafter they might have joy.

386–433. *Destruction of Rome: vengeance for the destruction of the Temple: victory of the Messiah, and restoration of the Holy City.*

Ye slayers of your mother, cease from your bold deeds of evil, ye who aforetime contrived lawless intercourse with boys and made virgins, once pure, to ply for hire in brothels, with outrage and ill-usage and shame and

371. *from the west:* cf. 104 supr.
372. Cf. Rev. xiv. 20, 1 Enoch 100. 3.
382 ff. Cf. 253 ff., 431 ff., III. 649 ff.

sorrow . . . Among you a mother would have intercourse with her son, and a daughter be joined as in wedlock with her father; among you kings would defile their lips with impiety, and vile men would even contrive intercourse with beasts. Keep silence, thou fair city most lamentable, full of revelry; no more in thee shall virgin priestesses tend the sacred flame with twigs † of branching wood; the beloved house has long been extinguished in ruin from the midst of thee, in that day when I saw the temple for the second time cast down, utterly devoured with fire by unholy hands, the temple that had flourished perpetually, the shrine of God's observance, built by the saints, and he that built it hoped with his whole soul and body that it should endure for ever.

For these men pay no unthinking reverence to a god of shapeless earth, nor among them did the craftsman make a god of stone, nor was there a worshipping of adornments of gold that deceive the soul; but they honoured God, the great father of all to whom He gives breath, with sacrifices and holy hecatombs. But now there came up against it an inglorious and unholy king, to throw down the holy place and leave it a ruin, with a great host and men of renown in war. Yet he perished, † when he had set foot on the soil of the holy land† (or, by the hands of the Immortal, and departed from the land): and no more was such a sign wrought among men, so that men might think that another than he had laid waste the great city.

395–7. The temple of Vesta was destroyed in the fire of Rome, A.D. 64.

411. The meaning is that Titus came to such a speedy end that one might think the destruction of the temple not to be his work at all. That Titus died very suddenly became an almost mythical tradition among the Jews; see the fantastic story in *Bereschith Rabba*, ed. Wünsche, p. 42.

For from the billowy clouds of heaven there came a blessed one, a man holding a sceptre in his hand, which God had delivered to him, and he triumphed nobly over all, and gave back to all the good that wealth which aforetime men had taken from them. He took and utterly burnt with fire the cities of them who before had done evil, and the city which God loved he made more bright than the sun, moon and stars: her he adorned, and . . . he made a holy house in visible shape (ἔνσαρκον), pure and beautiful; of many furlongs he made it in magnitude, with a great tower reaching to the very clouds, visible to all men, that all the faithful and the righteous might behold the glory of eternal God, and the shape of His desire. Then the east and the west sang of the honour of God: for then there are no more (terrors †) for hapless mortals, no adultery nor lawless lust for boys, no murder nor noise of war, no contention save in righteousness. It is the last time of the saints, when God who thunders from on high, founder of the great temple, brings these things to pass.

434–446. *An Oracle on Babylon.*

Woe to thee, Babylon, with thy throne of gold and golden sandals, who didst reign many years sole mistress of the world, who wast once a great and noble city: no longer shalt thou couch on the mountains of gold by the river Euphrates; thou shalt be laid low by the shock of an earthquake: the dread Parthians put thee to great

423. There is to be an actual and material (ἔνσαρκος) temple in the restored city; contrast Rev. xxi. 22; Bousset, *K. J.* 226 f.

424 f. Cf. 251 ff. *a great tower:* the picture is clearly modelled on the temple of Onias rather than on that of Solomon or Herod: cf. Jos. *B. J.* VII. 427, Niese: "Onias built his temple not like that in Jerusalem, but like a tower, of great stones, sixty cubits high."

suffering (MS. κρατεῖν, caused thee to hold wide sway).
Keep thy lips bridled, thou unholy race of the Chaldæans:
ask not nor ponder how thou mayst rule over the Persian
and vanquish the Mede: for by reason of thy sway which
thou didst gain, sending as hostages to Rome those who
were slaves to Asia, therefore, though thou didst count
thyself a queen † . . . thou shalt come to be judged by
thy enemies, by reason of whom thou hast sent a ransom,†
and for thy crooked words thou shalt give a bitter account†
to thy enemies.

447–475. *Miscellaneous prophecies of destruction.*

In the last time the sea shall be dried up, and ships
shall no more sail to Italy: great Asia shall be one ex-
panse of water, and Crete a plain. Cyprus shall have
great trouble, and Paphos lament her great doom, so that
one shall see Salamis too, the great city, suffering great
affliction: though now dry land, it shall be a sterile sand
on the shore. . . . Swarms of locusts shall devastate the
land of Cyprus. Weep, suffering mortals, when ye look
on Tyre. Phœnice, a dread wrath awaits thee, even to
fall in evil ruin, so that the very Sirens shall bewail thee
with sorrow.

443. Dio., LIV. 8, 1. In 20 B.C. Phraates, dismayed by the threatening activity of Augustus, and conscious that he had ignored all his treaty obligations, sent back the Roman prisoners and standards which were in his hands. This was celebrated by Augustus as a real victory, with sacrifices, a triumph, and the dedication of a temple to Mars Vindex. See Mommsen, *Provinces*, II. 28, 38, *Res Gestæ Div. Aug.* V. 40, and pp. 124 ff.

447. *the sea:* cf. Rev. xxi. 1, Ass. Mos. 10, 6.

450f. see on IV. 128.

457. *sirens:* the sirens appear as spirits of lamentation in Apoc. Bar. x. 8; σειρῆνες is the LXX equivalent for "jackals" in Isaiah xiii. 22, Micah i. 8, Ps. xliv. 19 (Aquila).

458 ff. Refers perhaps to the troubles of Egypt in the time of Cleopatra, and the subsequent settlement.

And in the fifth generation, when the destroying of Egypt has ceased, and shameless kings have made a treaty: and the peoples of Pamphylia settle in Egypt, there shall be in Macedonia, Asia, and Lycia (Libya?) a war raging over the world—and the dust shall be drenched with blood—which a king of Rome and rulers of the west shall cause to cease.

When the blast of winter drives thick with snow, and the great river and the great lakes are frozen, then a barbarous people shall move on Asia and destroy the fierce people of Thrace, that strong people. Then will men, wasted by hunger, feeding on things forbidden,† devour their parents and glut themselves with offal. Wild beast will snatch food out of every house, and the very birds will eat the flesh of men. The sea shall be filled with evil things from the rivers,† and shall be red with the flesh and blood of the unwise. Then shall there be such dearth of men in the world that a man could count up both men and women.

476–483. *The doom of the evil world, and the hope of the godly.*

A fearful generation shall lament very sore, at the time appointed for the sun to set and rise no more, waiting to sink in the waters of ocean; for he looked on the unholy ways of many sinful men. There shall be a gloom of dread darkness over the broad sky, and a thick darkness shall once more cover the recesses of

464 ff. One may connect this passage with the inroad of the Gauls into Thrace and Asia Minor in 280 B.C.

480. Cf. 346 ff.

481. *κόσμου πτύχα.* The expression is found also in 235, but evidently in a different sense.

the earth: but then the light of God shall give guidance to the good, to all who sang His praises.

484–503. *Doom of paganism in Egypt: a true temple to be built there.*

Isis, wretched goddess, thou shalt be left solitary by the waters of Nile, a raving † maenad by the sandy shore of Acheron, and no memorial shall be left of thee in all the world. And thou, Sarapis, dwelling on thy pile of profitless stones, shall lie a vast ruin in the midst of wretched Egypt. And all in Egypt who † sought unto thee shall bewail thee with sorrow; but they † whose mind is sound in them, who sang the praise of God, shall know that thou art nothing.

And on a day shall a white-robed priest speak thus: "Come, let us set up in beauty the true temple of God; come, let us change the evil custom of our forefathers, through which in their foolishness they knew not that they were offering rites and processions to gods of stone and clay. Let us turn and sing praise to the immortal God, the Father, the Eternal, the ruler of all, the true God and King, the Father who holdeth our soul in life, the great God who lives for ever." And then shall there be in Egypt a great and holy temple, and the people

484. *Acheron:* the Acherusian marsh, near Memphis.

492. *a white-robed priest:* i. e. a linen-clad priest of Isis or Serapis; cf. Ov. *Met.* I. 747, Dea linigera colitur celeberrima turba.

493–500. Cf. III. 716–731.

501 ff. The passage is an idealized picture based on Isaiah xix. ff.; there is no direct reference to the temple of Onias, which was closed by order of Vespasian (Jos. *B. J.* VII. 421–436, Niese), an event of which one would have expected to find more traces in *Or. Sib.*; see on 424 supr. Yet it is hard to believe that the closing of Onias' temple (it was not destroyed) was not in the back of the writer's mind, here and in 507 ff.

whom God hath made shall bring sacrifices into it, and the immortal † God shall grant them to dwell there.

But when the Ethiopians come from the shameless tribes of the Triballi, to plough † the fields of Egypt as their own, they shall begin to do evil, that the latter things may come to pass. For they will destroy the great temple of the land of Egypt; and God shall rain down on them upon the earth the furiousness of His anger, destroying all that evil and lawless people, and there shall be no sparing in that land, because they kept not that which God had delivered to them.

512–531. *The battle of the Stars.*

I beheld the menace of the burning sun among the

505. What is to be made of Ethiopians who come from Thrace (Triballi)? From III. 320, 512, it seems that they are to be identified with Gog and Magog. See note on III. 319 ff.

512 ff. Cf. 206–213 supr. Perhaps the germ of the conception may be looked for in Isaiah xiii. 10, Joel ii. 10, etc.; it is clearer in Matt. xiii. 25, and still more so in Rev. vi. 13; xii. 4, etc.; cf. also 2 Pet. iii. 10. In 1 Enoch 102. 2, "the luminaries are affrighted" in the day of judgment.

But it is to Stoic sources that we must look for the origin of the picture of a stellar battle as part of the ἐκπύρωσις: *e.g.*, to Seneca, *Consol. ad Marciam*, XXVI.: "et cum tempus advenerit quo se mundus renovaturus exstinguat; viribus ista se suis cadent, et sidera sideribus incurrent, et omni flagrante materia uno igne quidquid nunc ex disposito lucet ardebit;" and *Hercules Furens*, 941 ff.:

> "primus en! noster labor
> cæli refulget parte non minima Leo,
> iraque totus fervet et morsus parat.
> Iam rapiet aliquod sidus: . . .
> . . . quidquid autumnus gravis
> hienesque gelido frigida spatio refert
> uno impetu transiliet et verni petet
> frangetque Tauri colla."

One is inclined also to suggest that there may be a touch of Mithraism in the picture: certainly the scorpion creeping under the tail of the lion recalls one of the most familiar features of the Mithraic monuments.

stars, and the dread wrath of the moon in her bright shining; the stars were in travail with warfare, and God gave the word for battle. Over against the sun great flames made combat, and the horned whirling † of the moon was changed; the Day-Star went into battle, mounting on the back of the Lion: Capricorn smote the neck-sinew of the new-risen Bull: and the Bull took from Capricorn his day of return; and Orion put to flight the Yoke, it could not abide him; the Virgin changed the fate of the Twins, in the Ram: the Pleiad shone no more: the Dragon refused the Girdle; the Fishes swam up beneath the girdle of the Lion; Cancer stayed not in his place, for fear of Orion; the Scorpion crept † under the tail of the Lion, and the Dog slipped away from the flaming of the Sun; Aquarius was burnt up by the strength of the mighty Shiner. Heaven itself arose, and shook off the warring hosts; and cast them headlong in its wrath to the ground. And they, swiftly smitten down upon the waters of Ocean, set the whole earth on fire; and the sky stood bare of stars.

530. Cf. Rev. vi. 13, *Sib.*, III. 83, and Seneca, *Thyestes* 868-9,

"monstraque numquam perfusa mari
merget condens omnia gurges."

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